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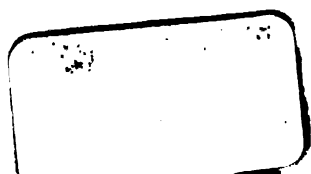
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THE
HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

VOL. III.

THE
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BY
THOMAS KEIGHTLEY,
AUTHOR OF THE HISTORY OF GREECE, THE HISTORY OF ROME,
OUTLINES OF HISTORY, ETC.

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THE very day of the execution of the king, the commons passed an act making it treason to proclaim the prince of Wales or any other to be king of England or Ireland. On the 6th of February they voted by a majority of forty-four to twenty-nine that “the house of peers is useless and dangerous, and ought to be abolished”†; and the following

* Authorities same as for Charles I. with Thurloe, Milton and Burton. See Appendix (A).

† The peers were allowed to retain their titles, but they lost their privileges; in return they became eligible to be elected into the house of commons, of which Pembroke, Salisbury, and Howard of Escrick took advantage.

day it was resolved that the office of a king is "unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous to the liberty, etc., of the nation, and ought to be abolished." The next day (8th) the great seal was broken to pieces by order of the house and in their presence, and a new one substituted, of which Whitelock, Lisle and sergeant Keble were appointed lord-commissioners, to hold their office *quamdiu se bene gesserint*. Of the judges six resigned, the others consented to remain provided the parliament engaged not to alter the fundamental laws. The King's-bench was henceforth to be styled the Upper-bench; writs were to run in the name of the "Keepers of the liberty of England by the authority of parliament"; an engagement to be true to the commonwealth of England took the place of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. In order to form an executive, five members of the house* were directed to select a certain number of persons to be a Council of State.

While the commons were thus converting the ancient monarchy of England into a republic, a High Court of Justice was sitting in judgement on the royalists of rank who were prisoners in their hands. On the night after the death of the king, the duke of Hamilton had made his escape from Windsor, but he was recognised and arrested by some troopers next day as he was knocking in disguise at an inn-gate in Southwark. Lord Capel also escaped out of the Tower, but he was discovered and seized by two watermen at a house in Lambeth. These two noblemen, with lord Norwich and sir John Owen, were some days after (10th) brought before a High Court of Justice, presided over by

* Namely, John Lisle, Cornelius Holland, Thomas Scot, Edmund Ludlow and Luke Robinson, all regicides except the last. Godwin says, that "a remarkable delicacy was observed in this business," as "none of them had been habitually concerned in the conduct of public affairs." They were however as much concerned in them as most others. He adds, that the five were directed to nominate forty persons, and that (out of delicacy no doubt) they did nominate only thirty-five, of course expecting, as it came to pass, that they themselves would be added. Ludlow's own account is more honourable to himself and friends.

Bradshaw, and arraigned for treason. The duke, who was arraigned as earl of Cambridge, pleaded that he was of another nation, under an order of whose parliament he had acted; but to this it was replied, that he had sat and voted and otherwise acted as an English peer. Lord Norwich and Owen simply pleaded not guilty. Capel pleaded the articles of Colchester, but Fairfax, Ireton and colonel Berksted asserted that these were only "to free him from immediate power of the sword to take his life." The court sat on several days. Lord Holland, who had been brought up from Warwick, was also put on his trial (27th); he pleaded that quarter had been given him. None of their pleas however availed; they were all sentenced to lose their heads (Mar. 6). A petition was presented to the parliament the next day by the lady Holland and other ladies, which only procured a respite of two days; the following day new petitions were presented. The house then proceeded to vote on their several cases; it was determined that the duke and lord Capel should not be reprieved; the votes for and against were equal in the cases of Holland and Norwich, and the speaker, by his casting vote, condemned the former and saved the latter. Colonel Hutchinson seeing sir John Owen without any one to make an exertion in his favour, took pity on him and prevailed on Ireton to give him his interest, and by their joint influence he was saved by a majority of five*. Hamilton, Holland and Capel were beheaded the next day (9th) in Palace-yard: they met their fate with courage and constancy, especially the last, who behaved, we are told, "like a stout Roman."

The new Council of State when completed consisted of forty-one members, of whom five were peers†. Bradshaw was chosen president, and the office of Latin secretary was bestowed on his kinsman John Milton‡. The council was appointed for a year; the army, navy and ordnance were placed under its authority; it had power to regulate trade

* *Life of Hutchinson*, p. 307.

† See Appendix (B).

‡ See Appendix (C).

and to negotiate with foreign states. The members were required to take an oath expressing their approval of all the late proceedings, but only nineteen (among whom fourteen were regicides) would subscribe it; the remainder, headed by Fairfax and Vane, positively refused. A new form was therefore devised (Feb. 22); they were only required "to approve of what *shall be done* by the commons in parliament, the supreme authority of this nation."

This supreme authority was such a miserable remnant of the parliament of England, that they could not but feel ashamed and uneasy as they gazed on their shrunken dimensions. To increase their number, they consented to re-admit such members as had not voted in the affirmative on the 5th of December, and who would record their dissent from that vote on the journals; they also from time to time issued writs for new elections in places where their interest was strong, and their number thus gradually rose to about one hundred and fifty.

"Never," says the panegyrist of the heads of the republican party, "never did any governors enter upon their functions under more formidable difficulties than the men who now undertook to steer and direct the vessel of the new commonwealth. They were, in a certain sense, a handful of men with the whole people of England against them." In these words he has, we think, pronounced their condemnation; for a handful of men had no right to take upon them to decide what form of government was best for the people of England, and to force it on them by the swords of a fanatic soldiery. Against them were the royalists, who though depressed were numerous and wealthy; and the presbyterians, whose hostility had been to the church, not to the crown. On their side were their great personal qualities, the arms of upwards of forty thousand soldiers, and the greater part of the independents and the other minor religious sects.

The new government was in fact that species of tyranny denominated oligarchy, and depending, like all other tyran-

nies, for its existence on the power of the sword. But it was here that its chief source of danger lay; the fanatic principles of the levellers were widely spread among the Prætorian guards of the new commonwealth, and it was not long ere they broke out into action. The fearless John Lilburne, the sworn foe to despotism of every kind, led the way by a petition against the Agreement of the People; petitions from officers and soldiers, and from the well-affected in various parts, poured in, calling for annual parliaments with entirely new members; the enforcement of the self-denying ordinance; the abolition of the Council of State and the High Court of Justice; requiring legal proceedings to be in English, and the fees of lawyers to be reduced; the excise and customs to be abolished, and the estates of delinquents to be sold; liberty of conscience, abolition of tithes, and fixed salaries of 100*l.* a year for the ministers of the Gospel.

To quell the spirit of the army vigorous means were employed. Five troopers, the bearers of a remonstrance from several regiments, were sentenced by a court-martial to ride the wooden horse, have their swords broken over their heads, and be cashiered. Lilburne, who was keeping up a constant fire of pamphlets*, was, with his associates Walwyn, Prince and Overton, committed to the Tower (Mar. 29). Numerous petitions, especially from the women†, were presented in their favour, but without effect. Mutinies broke out in the regiments destined for Ireland; the first was at Bishopsgate, in the city, where a troop of horse seized the colours and refused to march. For this five of them were sentenced to be shot, but with the ex-

* "England's New Chains Discovered;" "A Second Part" of the same; and "The Hunting of the Foxes from Newmarket and Triploe-heath to Westminster, by five small Beagles," alluding to the five troopers, &c.

† "They were bid," says Walker, "to go home and wash their dishes, to which some of them replied, They had neither dishes nor meat left." A very different answer, he says, from what they used to receive "when they had money, plate, rings, bodkins and thimbles to sacrifice to these legislative idols."

ception of one named Lockier they were pardoned by the general. At the funeral of Lockier, (Apr. 30) the corpse, adorned with bundles of rosemary dipped in blood, was preceded by one hundred men in files; six trumpeters sounding a soldier's knell went on each side of it; his horse covered with mourning was led after it; then came thousands of people with sea-green and black ribbons at their breasts. The women brought up the rear; thousands more of the better sort met them at the grave. This funeral convinced the government of the necessity of acting with energy, for the mutiny was spreading fast. A captain Thompson, at the head of two hundred men, set forth at Banbury a manifesto named 'England's Standard Advanced.' They were, however, surprised by colonel Reynolds (May 13); Thompson fled, and his men surrendered. A body of more than one thousand men moved from Salisbury to Burford, where Fairfax came up with them. At midnight Cromwell forced his way into the town and made four hundred of them prisoners, several of whom were shot by sentence of a court-martial (19th); the rest were pardoned. Thompson was slain shortly after at Wellingborough (21st), and the mutiny was finally suppressed. On Cromwell's making a report to that effect to the house (26th), a general day of thanksgiving for that great mercy was ordered*.

It is now time that we should take a view of the state of affairs in Scotland at this conjuncture. The parliament there, now under the control of Argyle, had sent instructions to their commissioners to protest against the trial and execution of the king; but it was evident that Argyle feared to offend, and the men who drove on that measure were not to be diverted from their purpose. No notice,

* There was another kind of levellers at this time, named the 'Diggers,' whose principle it was that the barren earth was to be made fruitful. They accordingly repaired to St. George's-hill, near Walton, in Surrey, and began to dig a common there, and to sow beans and other plants in it. Fairfax sent two troops of horse and easily dispersed them, as their number was only thirty.

therefore, was taken of the Scottish protest. When tidings of the execution of the king reached Edinburgh, the parliament forthwith (Feb. 5) proclaimed Charles II. provided he would take the covenant and adhere to the solemn league between the two kingdoms. Afterwards, when they found themselves treated with contempt by the English parliament, and their commissioners actually sent under a guard to the frontiers, they appointed commissioners to proceed to the Hague to treat with the king. These on arriving (Mar. 26), found Lanark (now duke of Hamilton), Lauderdale and Callendar, the chiefs of the engagers, and the royalists Montrose, Kinnoul and Seaforth already there. The antipathies and disputes of these parties caused distraction and confusion; and Charles, whose real design was to repair to Ormond and the catholics in Ireland, was little inclined to give them satisfaction. The murder of Dr. Dorislaus, which occurred soon after, made it expedient for him to quit the Hague. This civilian had been sent as envoy from the parliament to the states. On the very evening of his arrival (May 3), as he was at supper in an inn, six gentlemen entered the room with drawn swords, and dragging him from his chair, murdered him on the ground*. The assassins escaped, but it was known that they were Scotsmen and followers of Montrose. Charles immediately left the Hague and proceeded to Paris, whence, after a delay of three months, he went to Jersey in order to take shipping for Ireland. But the intelligence which he received from that country showing that his cause there was hopeless, he renewed his negotiations with the Scots. Many months passed without anything being done; but early in the following year (Mar. 15, 1650) he met the commissioners, who were the earls of Cassilis and Lothian, two barons, two burgesses, and three ministers, at the prince of Orange's town of Breda. But though urged by

* Ascham, the republican envoy to the court of Madrid, was also assassinated by the royalists. Clarendon does not, by any means, condemn the deed.

his mother, the prince of Orange and several of his other friends, to take the covenant and comply with the other demands, he still protracted the treaty.

The truth is, Charles, who had all the insincerity distinctive of his family, had in view another mode of recovering his throne. The restless and enterprising Montrose having obtained some supplies of arms and money from the northern courts, had embarked at Hamburg with about six hundred men, Germans and Scottish exiles. He sailed to the Orkney isles, where by a forced levy he raised his troops to about fourteen hundred, with whom he passed over to the opposite coast; but as he marched through Caithness and Sutherland, the people, instead of joining him as he expected, fled at his approach. At Corbins-dale, in Fifeshire, he was encountered (Apr. 17) by a party of three hundred horse, under Strachan; the main army of four thousand men under David Lesley not being yet come up. The unwarlike islanders, when charged by cavalry, threw down their arms and fled; the Germans retreated to a wood, where they surrendered. Montrose, in the disguise of a peasant, escaped by swimming across a river; but he was betrayed (May 8) by a person with whom he had taken refuge, and was conducted a prisoner to Edinburgh. Every insult that could be devised was heaped on him by his ungenerous captors. The magistrates of Edinburgh met him at the gates, and by their directions he was placed, bareheaded and pinioned, on a high seat in a cart, and thus led by the executioner to the common gaol, his officers walking two and two before the cart. Argyle and his other enemies feasted, it is said, their eyes with the sight from a balcony. Within two days he was brought before the parliament to receive his sentence. The chancellor in a bitter tone enumerated all his offences. He replied that he had always acted by the royal command. He was then sentenced to be hung on a gallows thirty feet high, his head to be fixed on a spike in Edinburgh, his arms on the gates of Perth and Stirling, his legs on those of Glasgow and

Aberdeen, his body to be buried by the hangman on the Burrow-muir. He heard this sentence with an unchanged countenance. The clergy then came to torture him; they told him that his punishment here was but a shadow of what awaited him in the next world. He repelled them with disdain: he was prouder, he said, to have his head placed on the prison walls than his picture in the king's bed-chamber, and he wished he had flesh enough to be dispersed through Christendom to attest his loyalty. He appeared on the scaffold (20th) in a splendid dress, and addressed the people in explanation of his dying unsolved by the church; the executioner then hung the book containing the history of his exploits about his neck; he smiled at their malice, and said he wore it with more pride than the garter. His behaviour at his last moments gained many proselytes to the cause for which he suffered.

Montrose was only thirty-eight years of age. His mind was irregularly great, always aiming at what was beyond his power to achieve*. He never displayed the talents of a great commander, but as a partisan or *guerilla* he was not to be excelled. Personal aggrandisement or the gratification of personal enmity was the impelling cause of most of his actions. His barbarous death has in some measure effaced the memory of the cruelties which he had committed.

Sir Francis Hay Spotswood, grandson of the archbishop, colonel Sibbald and colonel Hurry, his companions, were all executed a few days after Montrose. His friend lord Frendaught balked the public vengeance by a voluntary death.

When the news of Montrose's defeat reached Charles, he lost no time in declaring that he had forbidden him to proceed in his design, and that he was not sorry for what had befallen him. He then submitted without reserve to

* Scotland has produced many able and some eminent men, but we doubt, if any, properly speaking, great men.

the demands of the commissioners. Beside taking the covenant and the solemn league and covenant, he bound himself not to tolerate popery in any part of his dominions, and to govern by the advice of the parliament and the kirk. He then embarked (June 2) on board of a Dutch fleet employed to protect the herring-fisheries, and after a tedious voyage of three weeks reached the mouth of the Spey (23rd). A court was arranged for him with all the proper officers, but none of the Engagers were permitted to approach it; and none of his English followers, but the duke of Buckingham, lord Wilmot and a few servants, were suffered to remain with him. He soon found that he was to be a mere pageant of royalty, and the insolence of the despotic fanatic clergy made his life wearisome. Evermore he was compelled to listen to their invectives against the iniquity of his father's house, the idolatry of his mother, and his own connexion with malignants. Long prayers, tedious sermons, rigid fasts, and Judaical sabbaths were inflicted on him, and the slightest levity in look or conduct was severely reprehended. How long a licentious youth (for such was Charles) and these sour religionists could have agreed is uncertain; but the time for the experiment was brief; for Charles had been but one short month in Scotland when (July 22) Cromwell, flushed with victory in Ireland, crossed the Tweed at the head of an English army.

In Ireland, when the nuncio and the clergy had gotten the supreme power into their hands, they exercised it, as churchmen always exercise temporal power, weakly, passionately and injudiciously; but the marquess of Clanricarde and some other peers rallied against them, and finally obliged the nuncio to fly to the camp of his friend Owen O'Neal. Lord Inchiquin, who had been hitherto on the side of the parliament, having declared for the royal cause, the council invited Ormond to return and resume the lieutenancy; and on his arrival, the insolent turbulent Italian found it necessary to quit the kingdom in which his pre-

sence had been only productive of evil. The news of the danger of the king at this time made Ormond and the confederates to recede a little from the rigour of their mutual demands. *They* engaged to maintain an army of seventeen thousand men for the royal cause; *he* promised the free exercise of the catholic religion, the repeal of Poyning's law, and other graces. This treaty was concluded on the 17th of January, 1649; the account of the execution of the king caused the Scottish army in Ulster to declare for the royal cause. Owen O'Neal, who was closely connected with the party of the nuncio, refused to be included in it, and formed an alliance with the parliamentary commanders. Ormond being joined by Inchiquin from Munster, was enabled to appear at the head of a combined army of eleven thousand men, protestants and catholics, before the walls of Dublin (June 19), while Inchiquin reduced Drogheda. Monk, who commanded at Dundalk, had concerted with O'Neal a plan for drawing the lord-lieutenant away from Dublin; but Inchiquin fell on and routed a body of O'Neal's troops who were convoying the ammunition sent him by Monk for this purpose, and then compelled Monk himself to surrender. He also reduced Newry, Carlingford, Trim, and other towns, and then re-joined Ormond before Dublin. Owen O'Neal meantime advanced toward Londonderry, which was hard pressed by the royalists, and he obliged them to raise the siege.

The parliament had appointed Cromwell to the command in Ireland (Mar. 15), but he hesitated to accept it; the council of officers then directed two from each regiment to meet and seek God as to what advice to offer him, and at length he declared himself willing to undertake that service. He was appointed lord-lieutenant, with supreme authority both civil and military, for three years. He demanded a force of twelve thousand men with all needful supplies, and 100,000*l.* in money. These preparations caused so much delay, that Cromwell did not leave London

till the 10th of July; on which day, when three ministers had offered up prayers for his success, and he himself, Goffe and Harrison "did," says Whitelock, "expound some places of Scripture excellently well and pertinent to the occasion," he left Whitehall with a train of carriages, each drawn by six horses, with his life-guard of eighty gentlemen, all of whom had been officers, and a numerous suite of attendants. Ere their departure, his officers presented a petition to parliament, praying that drunkenness, profane swearing, etc. might be restrained; legal proceedings be in English, cheap, certain, etc.; lands and houses with their encumbrances be registered in each parish; tithes be abolished, and two shillings in the pound be levied on the land for the support of the clergy and the poor, etc. etc.

The troops for Ireland were appointed to rendezvous at Milford-haven; the regiments of Reynolds and Venables were embarked at once for the relief of Dublin. Mutinies and desertion among his troops however delayed the departure of the lord-lieutenant, and meantime the siege of Dublin was raised: for Ormond, who had hitherto lain at Finglass on the north side of the city, had crossed the Liffey and encamped at Rathmines on the south side; and to prevent the garrison from grazing their horses and to cut off the communication with Ring's-end, where the reinforcements from England would land, he sent a party to take and secure the castle of Baginbally, near the walls (Aug. 1). Jones the governor, who had been reinforced by the regiments of Reynolds and Venables, sallied out and drove them off, and then following up his success attacked and totally routed the besieging army with a loss of one thousand killed, two thousand taken, and all their ammunition, baggage, and stores. Cromwell and Ireton soon after (18th) landed in Dublin, and having given their troops about a fortnight's rest led them (Sept. 3) against Drogheda, in which Ormond had left a garrison of between

two and three thousand men*, under the command of sir Arthur Aston, an English catholic. Having effected a breach in the walls (11th), about one thousand of the besiegers entered at it, but they were driven out again; they renewed the attempt and succeeded; orders were issued to give no quarter, and the whole garrison was massacred. About a thousand of the catholic inhabitants who had taken refuge in the great church, in which they had set up the mass, were slaughtered in it; "their friars and priests," says Cromwell, in his despatch, "were knocked on the head promiscuously with the others†."

From Drogheda Cromwell advanced to Wexford, all the towns and castles on his way submitting. When his guns had played for a day on the castle and effected a small breach, the governor sent in the evening to treat for a surrender, but neglecting to demand a cessation, the firing continued, and the breach being enlarged, a part of the English soldiers entered, and opening the gates admitted the rest, and a promiscuous slaughter, as at Drogheda, took place. Shortly after, Cork and some other great towns in Munster declared for the parliament, and on lord Broghil's coming back from England most of Inchiquin's troops went over to him. Cromwell, whose men suffered greatly from disease and want of provisions, found it necessary to retire from before Waterford, to which he had laid siege. He then put his troops into winter-quarters.

Early in February (1650), Cromwell, having been reinforced, again took the field. No place was able to resist him. Kilkenny opened its gates (Mar. 28), and its example was followed, after a brave defence, by Clonmel (May 10). He was preparing to renew the siege of Waterford when he was summoned to England on account of the

* Mostly English, according to Ludlow (i. 260). This does not seem very credible, and he is a suspicious witness against Cromwell. He had however the means of ascertaining the truth.

† Whitelock. Yet Dr. Vaughan (p. 478) asserts, that "the several communications to the parliament make no mention of the death of any who were not found in arms"!

Scottish affairs. He left the chief command in Ireland to Ireton, by whom the war was prosecuted with vigour.

On his approach to London (May 31) Cromwell was met at Hounslow by many members of parliament and officers of the army, and conducted to Whitehall. The affairs of Scotland being taken into consideration, it was decided that an army under Fairfax and Cromwell should be marched into that country without delay. Fairfax at first made no objection, but afterwards being influenced by his lady and the ministers, he felt scruples as to the justice of invading a country with which they were in alliance. The council of state appointed Cromwell, Lambert, Harrison, St. John, and Whitelock, as a committee to confer with him in order to remove his scruples. They met in a room at Whitehall (25th), and after prayer (as was the custom) proceeded to the discussion. They endeavoured to prove, that the Scots, by their late invasion of England under duke Hamilton, had already broken the covenant, and that their present levies of men proved a hostile intention. He declared himself unconvinced, and expressed his determination to lay down his commission. They all conjured him not to think of doing so; in which Whitelock says, "none were so earnest as Cromwell and the soldiers; yet there was cause enough to believe that they did not overmuch desire it*." Fairfax, however, persisted, and the parliament passed an act next day constituting Oliver Cromwell, Esq., to be captain-general of all the forces raised and to be raised within the commonwealth of England. Three days after (29th) the new general set out for the north†.

On the 22nd of July Cromwell crossed the Tweed at the head of a veteran army of sixteen thousand men. The whole country thence to Edinburgh presented a scene of

* Mrs. Hutchinson, who was no friend to Cromwell, thinks that he was sincere. This of course was her husband's opinion. It was also that of Ludlow.

† See Appendix (D).

desolation ; for orders had been given to remove the cattle and provisions, and by disseminating monstrous falsehoods of Cromwell's cruelties in Ireland, and by threats of infamy and death, the government had caused the people to abandon their dwellings. The Scottish army under David Lesley was posted behind a strong entrenchment running from Edinburgh to Leith, and as, though more numerous than the enemy, they were mostly raw levies, it was the prudent plan of their general to give the invaders no opportunity of fighting, and thus to starve them out of the country. This plan would doubtless have succeeded, for sickness had already begun to prevail in the English army, were it not that they had a good ally in the ignorance, bigotry, and presumption of the Scottish clergy, who were evermore meddling in both civil and military affairs. They commenced by obliging the king to remove to Stirling, his presence in the army they asserted giving occasion to riot and neglect of discipline. They next required that the camp should be purged of malignants ; and about eighty officers and some of the men being dismissed, the army was held to be entirely composed of saints, of whose success there could be no doubt, the Lord being always supposed to espouse the cause of the righteous in those days. But one dark cloud still shed its gloom over the prospect ; though they were holy themselves, they were engaged in the cause of him who was immersed in sin. To remove this offence a declaration was drawn up which the king was required to subscribe ; in this he was to deplore the blood-guiltiness of his father and the idolatry of his mother ; to declare that he took the covenant with truth and sincerity, and had no enemies but those of it ; to pronounce all treaties with the bloody Irish rebels null and void ; to detest popery, prelacy, etc., etc. Little scrupulous as Charles was, he refused to commit an act so repugnant to natural duty. But it soon appeared that he would be supported on no other terms : he therefore affixed his signature to the instrument (Aug. 16), an act in which no one could believe him to be sincere ; yet the zealots were filled with joy, and the cloud of guilt

being thus dispelled, the ministers assured their hearers of a certain victory over a "blaspheming general and a sectarian army."

Cromwell, finding that he could not bring the Scots to action, retired to Musselburg (30th), where he put his sick on board his ships. He then moved to Haddington, and thence to Dunbar, followed by Lesley, who occupied the heights of Lammermuir. But the civilians and the clergy, the committees of the estates and the kirk, would no longer be advised by the prudent general: fearing now that the enemy might escape, they insisted on his giving battle. Cromwell and his officers had been seeking the Lord, on which occasion, as he afterwards declared, he felt "such an enlargement of heart in prayer and such quiet upon it," that he assured those about him that God would certainly appear for them. As they were walking after this exercise in lord Roxburgh's gardens, and viewing the Scottish camp with glasses, Cromwell observing a great motion in it, cried, "God is delivering them into our hands; they are coming down to us." He was right; during the night, which was rainy and stormy, the Scots descended from their elevated station, and in the morning (Sept. 3) while they were wet and weary they were fallen on by the English troops. The Scottish horse after a gallant but brief resistance were broken and routed; the foot then threw away their arms and fled, two regiments only resisting, who bravely perished where they stood. The fugitives were pursued for eight miles; three thousand were slain, and ten thousand, with all the artillery, ammunition, and baggage, were taken. Edinburgh and Leith opened their gates, and the whole country south of the Forth submitted to the English general, a few castles only holding out.

To raise a new army was now the first object of the Scottish government, but this could hardly be effected if the religious test were retained in all its rigour. The commissioners of the kirk, on being consulted, passed two resolutions to the following effect: those who had made defection or had been hitherto backward in the work, ought to

be admitted to make profession of repentance, and on doing so might be allowed to serve and to defend their country. Mock penitents now appeared in abundance; royalists, engagers, and all the excluded crowded to court and camp. But a new schism hence arose, for the more rigid and fanatic portion of the clergy protested against the resolutions as an insult to God and a betrayal of the good cause. The kirk was now split into Resolutioners and Protesters, or Remonstrants; for the five most fanatic counties of the west, Renfrew, Ayr, Galloway, Wigton, and Dumfries, presented a remonstrance against the treaty with the king, and required him to be excluded from the government.

Charles, meantime, weary of the state of pupillage in which he was held, had concerted with the royalists in the Highlands to make his escape to them. One afternoon (Oct. 4.) having gotten out of Perth, where the parliament now sat, under pretence of hawking, he rode forty-two miles to a hovel, named Clova in the Highlands, where his friends had promised to meet him. A few only appeared, and colonel Montgomery, who had been sent in pursuit of him by Argyle, to whom his plan had been betrayed (by Buckingham it is said), persuaded him to return. This *Start*, as it was named, was however of some service to the king, as it caused him to be treated henceforth with a little more consideration.

On the first day of the new year (1651) Charles was solemnly crowned at Scone. When he had sworn on his knees and with upraised hand to observe the two covenants, to maintain presbytery, govern according to the laws of God and the land, and root out false religion and heresy, the crown was placed on his head by the marquis of Argyle, and the nobility and people swore allegiance to him. His friends were now admitted to parliament; and to gain Argyle more entirely to his side he hinted at a marriage with his daughter; but that wary nobleman was not to be caught by an offer in which he knew he was not sincere.

By the joint exertions of all parties, an army of twenty

thousand men was assembled at Stirling in the month of April. The king himself took the chief command, with Hamilton for his lieutenant, and Lesley for his major-general. The passes of the Forth were secured, and the army was encamped in a strong position at the Torwood, near Stirling. Cromwell, who had been suffering so severely from ague as to have obtained permission to return to England, finding himself unexpectedly better at the approach of summer, resumed operations in July. By means of a fleet of boats which had been collected at Queen's-ferry, Overton passed over and fortified a hill at Inverkething; he was followed by Lambert; the Scottish force sent to oppose them was driven off (21st); Cromwell lost no time in transporting over the remainder of the army; the whole of Fife was rapidly reduced, and Perth opened her gates. The communications of the royal army with the north were now cut off, and if it remained in its present position it must either starve, disband, or fight at a disadvantage. In this dilemma the king proposed the desperate expedient of a march into England; Argyle alone opposed it in the council, and when his reasons were rejected he obtained permission to retire to his estates. The king then at the head of fourteen thousand men left Stirling (31st) on his way for England. Cromwell immediately sent Lambert with a body of three thousand horse to hang on his rear, and he ordered Harrison to advance from Newcastle with an equal number to press on his flank; he himself, leaving Monk with five thousand men to complete the conquest of Scotland, moved rapidly (Aug. 7.) in the direction of York.

Charles entered England at Carlisle; at Warrington (16th) Lambert and Harrison attempted to prevent his passage of the Mersey, but they were not in time to break down the bridge, and he passed them by, and marching rapidly through Cheshire and Shropshire came to Worcester (22nd), where he was solemnly proclaimed by the mayor and some of the gentlemen of the county. The aspect of

his affairs was, however, by no means cheering. The royalists had not been prepared, and few of them came to join him; the committee of the kirk forbade any one to be employed who did not take the covenant; and the attempts of Massey the defender of Gloucester, who was now one of the royal commanders, to raise men in Lancashire, failed in consequence of it.

At the first intelligence of the king's march into England the council of state were in great alarm, for they supposed that it must have been concerted with the presbyterians, and they expected the royalists every where to rise: they even suspected Cromwell of treachery. They soon however resumed their courage; they caused the declaration which Charles had published to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman; and they proclaimed him and all his abettors guilty of high-treason; they put suspected persons into prison*, and ordered the militia of the adjoining counties to march toward Worcester. Cromwell himself soon arrived (28th), and found himself at the head of thirty thousand men, while the royalists were not half the number and but a sixth part of them English. That very day Lambert made himself master of the bridge over the Severn at Upton, in the defence of which Massey received a severe wound which deprived the royal army of his valuable services. On the 3rd of September (the day of the victory at Dunbar) Fleetwood advancing from Upton on the west bank of the Severn, proceeded to force the passage of the Team, while Cromwell threw a bridge of boats over the Severn to come to his aid. The Scots having the advantage of the numerous hedges in that part, fought gallantly; but Cromwell having passed over some regiments, they were at length driven back to the city. Meantime the remainder of the royal forces issued from the town and attacked the troops on the east side. At first

* The very day that Charles entered Worcester, a presbyterian clergyman named Love, and a layman named Gibbons, were beheaded on Tower-hill for their share in a conspiracy in favour of royalty

their efforts were successful, but they were finally driven back by Cromwell's veteran reserve and forced into the city. Cromwell stormed the fort named Fort Royal, put its garrison of fifteen hundred men to the sword, and turned its guns on the town, which the royalists speedily abandoned. The battle had lasted five hours; the Scots had fought nobly. "This has been," said Cromwell in his despatch, "a very glorious mercy, and as stiff a contest for four or five hours as ever I have seen." Of the vanquished three thousand men were slain, of the victors only two hundred; but as the whole country rose against the Scots, whose speech betrayed them, the number of the prisoners amounted to ten thousand. Among these were the earls of Derby, Cleveland, and Shrewsbury of the English nobility, and the duke of Hamilton (who was mortally wounded), the earls of Lauderdale, Rothes, and Kelly, and the lords Sinclair, Kenmuir, and Spynie of the Scottish; also the generals Lesley, Middleton, and Massey. The earl of Derby and two others were tried by a court-martial at Chester and put to death; the others were kept in prison, from which Massey and Middleton escaped. "It is certain," says Godwin, "there was on the whole a great spirit of clemency displayed in the limits the government thought proper to prescribe to itself on this occasion. Of the common soldiers taken prisoners, the greater part were sent to the plantations [as slaves], and fifteen hundred were granted to the Guinea merchants, and employed to work in the mines of Africa*." Not one word of reprehension has the prejudiced historian to bestow on this barbarous treatment of the freeborn soldiers of an independent nation! The republicans seemed resolved, we may see, to tread faithfully in the foot-prints of the Greeks and Romans.

The parliament voted Cromwell an estate of 4000*l.* a year, in addition to that of 2500*l.* a year already given him: it was likewise voted that Hampton-court should be

* The same was probably the fate of the 5000 prisoners taken at the battle of Dunbar, and "driven like turkies" into England.

fitted up for his residence. Lambert, Whalley, Monk, and others had also estates granted to them.

The dangers and escapes of Charles after the defeat of Worcester are so interesting in themselves and serve so much to display the nobler and more generous feelings of our nature, that we cannot refrain from relating them somewhat in detail.

Charles, who had shown no want of courage during the battle, left the town with the Scottish horse ; but he parted from them during the night with about sixty followers, and directed his course for Boscobel-house in Staffordshire, the seat of Mrs. Cotton, a catholic lady, where lord Derby had found shelter some days before. He was, however, conducted instead to Whiteladies, another of Mrs. Cotton's houses, and here his companions took leave of him. He cut off his hair, stained his face and hands, and putting on the coarse threadbare clothes of a rustic, went forth in the morning with a bill in his hand, as a wood-cutter, in the company of four brothers, labouring men, named Penderel, and Yates their brother-in-law, all catholics. One of them accompanied him into the thickest part of the wood while the rest kept watch. As the day was wet and stormy and Charles was weary with his previous exertions, his companion spread a blanket for him under a tree, whither Yates's wife brought him some food. He was startled at the sight of her, but she assured him that she would die sooner than betray him ; and the aged mother of the Penderels, when she came to see him, fell on her knees and blessed God for having chosen *her* sons to save the life of their king.

About nine in the evening the king and Richard Penderel left the wood and proceeded to Madeley, the house of a catholic gentleman named Wolf, which was near the Severn, it being his intention to pass over into Wales. They did not reach it till midnight ; all the next day (5th) they remained concealed behind the hay in a barn, while Wolf sent to examine the river. But all the bridges were

guarded and all the boats secured, and they found it necessary to abandon their design and when night set in to direct their steps to Boscobel. Here the king met colonel Careless, a catholic royalist, and as the soldiers were very numerous about there they both concealed themselves all the next day (6th) in the dense foliage of an oak-tree which grew close to the foot-path in a meadow in the centre of the wood; whence they could frequently discern the red coats of the soldiers as they passed through the trees. In the night they returned to the house, where Charles remained quietly all the next day, which was Sunday. On Monday (8th) he received a message from lord Wilmot, to meet him at Moseley, the house of Mr. Whitegrave, also a recusant. As his feet had been cut and blistered by the walk to and from Madeley, he rode a horse belonging to one of the Penderels, the six brothers attending him armed. Here a new plan of escape was devised for him: the daughter of Mr. Lane of Bentley, a protestant gentleman, in that neighbourhood, had obtained a pass to go visit Mrs. Norton, her relation, near Bristol, and it was proposed that the king should ride before her as her servant. To this he readily consented, and in the night Wilmot went to Bentley to make the arrangements. Next day (9th) a party of troopers came; the king was shut up in the Priest's Hole, but they departed without searching the house. In the night he went to Bentley, and on the second day (11th) equipped in a suit of gray he mounted before Miss Lane: her cousin, Mr. Lassells, rode beside them, and on the fourth day (14th) they reached Mr. Norton's in safety. Wilmot, who had boldly ridden with a hawk on his fist and dogs at his heels, also eluded discovery, and he took up his abode at sir John Winter's in the neighbourhood.

Miss Lane, pretending that her servant was unwell, obtained a separate apartment for him; but the butler, who had been a servant in the palace at Richmond, recognised him as soon as he saw him. He told his suspicions to Lassells, and the king then deemed it his wisest course to con-

fide in him. His confidence was not deceived ; the man was faithful and zealous. By his means Wilmot had a private meeting with the king (17th) ; and as the butler had inquired without success for a ship to take them to France or Spain, it was arranged that they should go to colonel Windham's at Trent, near Sherburn in Dorset, and that a letter, as if her father was dangerously ill, should be given to Miss Lane to serve as a pretext for her sudden departure. They therefore left Mr. Norton's the next morning (18th), and reached Trent the following day. Miss Lane and Lassells then returned home.

A ship was soon hired at Lyme to convey a gentleman and his servant (Wilmot and the king) to France. They went down in the evening (23rd), Charles riding before a young lady, to a little inn at Charmouth where they were to be taken on board ; but no bark came, for when the master was leaving his house for the purpose his wife had stopped him and would not suffer him to stir. At dawn (24th) Wilmot went to Lyme to learn the cause of the disappointment : the others meantime rode to Bridport, which was full of soldiers ; Charles led the horses through them into the inn-yard, rudely pushing them out of the way. But the hostler here claimed acquaintance with him, saying that he had known him in the service of a Mr. Potter at Exeter (in whose house Charles really had lodged). Taking advantage of the confusion of the hostler's memory, the king replied, " True, I did live with him, but I have no time now ; we will renew our acquaintance over a pot of beer on my return to London."

When Wilmot came to say that the master would not put to sea, they rode back to Trent, where the king stayed till the 8th of October, when he removed to Heale near Salisbury, the residence of a widow-lady named Hyde, where he remained concealed for five days, during which colonel Gunter, through one Mansell a merchant, engaged the master of a collier which was lying at Shoreham in

Sussex. Charles rode to the adjoining fishing-village of Brighthelmstone (15th), where he sat down to supper with the colonels Philips and Gunter, and Mansell, and Tattershall the captain of the vessel. This last recognised the king, having been detained in the river by him in 1648. He called Mansell aside and complained of fraud; the king when informed took no notice, but kept them all drinking and smoking till four in the morning, when they set out for Shoreham. Ere he departed, as he was alone, the landlord came behind him and kissed his hand, which was on the back of a chair, saying, "I have no doubt that if I live I shall be a lord and my wife a lady." The king laughed.

When they were aboard, Tattershall assured the king of his fidelity. The ship when under weigh stood along the coast as if for Deal, whither she was bound. At five, Charles, as had been arranged, addressed the crew, saying that he and his companion were flying from their creditors, and begged them to join him in prevailing on the captain to land them in France; at the same time he gave them twenty shillings to drink. The sailors became zealous advocates; Tattershall made many objections; at length he affected to yield, and next morning (17th) the two adventurers were put ashore at Fechamp in Normandy*.

Upwards of forty persons, it appears, were privy to the escape of Charles; a reward of 1000*l.* had been offered (Sep. 9) for his apprehension; yet no one, not even a servant, was base enough to betray him. This surely is creditable to human nature. It is only to be regretted that the object of such devotion should have afterwards proved so worthless†.

The Channel-Isles, Scilly, Man, and the colonies of Bar-

* Cardinal de Retz tells us, that Charles had not a second shirt when he reached Paris, nor his mother money enough to buy him one.

† After the Restoration, Careless and the Penderels were rewarded by the king; Miss Lane and colonel Windham by the parliament.

badoes and Virginia were reduced by the end of the year. Scotland and Ireland only remained to occupy the attention of the council of state.

In the former country, after the loss of the army in England, there remained no force to oppose to Monk. Stirling had already capitulated (Aug. 14), and Dundee had been taken by storm and all within it ruthlessly massacred (Sep. 1). Montrose, Aberdeen, and St. Andrews opened their gates, and English detachments even visited the Orkney and Zetland isles. The earls of Huntley and Balcarras retired to the Highlands, where Argyle was endeavouring to organise a system of resistance; but they preferred submission to the English to a union with him, and he only had the honour of being the last to yield. A commission of eight persons (among whom were Vane and St. John) for the affairs of Scotland was appointed by the English parliament. The object in view was to form an incorporating union of the two countries, for which purpose delegates were summoned to meet the commissioners at Dalkeith. To this project both the national and the religious feelings of the Scottish people were adverse; but they were of little avail against superior power. Ere, however, the terms of union could be adjusted, the parliament of England had ceased to exist and Scotland remained a conquered country; a chain of new forts which extended to its remotest parts securing its tranquillity and reminding the people of their subjection.

The total conquest of Ireland also was achieved at this time. After the departure of Cromwell, Ireton had reduced Waterford and Carlow, while sir Charles Coote was equally successful in Ulster, and lord Broghil in Munster. Connaught and the city of Limerick only remained to the Irish. Ormond, thwarted and impeded in every possible manner by the priesthood, quitted the kingdom (Dec. 7), leaving his uneasy seat to be filled by the marquess of Clanricarde, a catholic nobleman of high honour and un-

sullied loyalty*. A negotiation was meantime going on with that princely *condottiere* the duke of Lorraine for the service of himself and his army; but he required for himself, his heirs, and successors the title of Protector-royal, with the chief civil and military authority, to be retained until Charles Stuart should repay him his expenses. To these extravagant demands the agents sent to Brussels subscribed (July 27, 1651); but Clanricarde rejected them with indignation, and the arrest of the duke by the Spanish government soon put an end to all hopes from that quarter.

Ireton opened the campaign of 1651 with the siege of Limerick (June 11). It had a garrison of three thousand men under Hugh O'Neal, the gallant defender of Clonmel, but the keys of the gates and the government of the city remained with the mayor. Coote advanced from the north, and in spite of Clanricarde pushed on to Portumna and Athunree; Broghil defeated lord Muskerry, the catholic commander in Munster; Ireton himself forced the passage of the Shannon at Killaloe, and transported a part of his army to the Clare side of that river; and Limerick was thus shut in on all sides. The defence was gallant, and it was not till after a siege of four months and a wide breach having been effected in the walls, that the people and the garrison consented to treat (Oct. 27). Twenty-two persons were excepted from mercy, of whom five, namely, the bishop of Emly, Wolf a turbulent friar, Stretch the mayor, Barrow one of the town-council, and general Purcel, were executed. The intercession of the members of the court-martial which tried him saved the life of the brave O'Neal. Ireton did not long outlive his conquest; he fell a victim to the plague, which was then raging in that part of the kingdom (Nov. 25). His remains were transmitted to England and honoured with a magnificent funeral in West-

* Clanricarde was half-brother to the late earl of Essex. Their mother was the daughter of sir Francis Walsingham and widow of sir Philip Sidney.

minster-abbey, and an estate of 2000*l.* a year was settled on his family. Lieutenant-general Ludlow, who succeeded to the command, completed the subjugation of the country in the following year.

The parliament appointed Lambert to the office of lord-deputy in Ireland (Jan. 30, 1652). Lambert, who was a vain ostentatious man, went immediately to great expense, laying out not less than 5000*l.* on his coach and equipage; but a simple accident came to terminate his visions of glory. His wife and Ireton's widow happened to meet in the park; the former, as the lady of the actual deputy, claimed precedence. The mortified relict complained to her father; about the same time she gave her hand to lieutenant-general Fleetwood, who was now a widower; and to complete her triumph over her rival, it only remained that her husband and not Lambert should be the deputy, and this was easily effected. Cromwell's commission of lord-lieutenant was on the point of expiring, and a deputy without a lord-lieutenant was a solecism. Some, indeed, objected to these titles altogether as savouring too much of monarchy; but it was proposed to renew Cromwell's commission. This however he declined. It was then proposed to limit Lambert's commission to six months, but he took huff and sent in his resignation. Cromwell was then empowered to appoint the commander of the forces for Ireland, and he nominated Fleetwood (July 9); he, however, reimbursed Lambert the expenses he had been at.

Commissioners, as in the case of Scotland, were appointed to regulate the affairs of Ireland. The people of that most unhappy country were treated as we shall now proceed to relate.

Each chief, as he submitted, was allowed to levy a certain number of men for the service of the catholic princes of the continent, and take them out of the country. A great number of young women and boys were at various

times carried away to America and the West Indies*. By the 'Act for the settlement of Ireland' (Aug. 12, 1652), a general pardon was extended to all the inferior people. Of the persons of property the following classes were "excepted from pardon of life and estate." 1. All those who before the 10th of November, 1642, had had any share in the rebellion, massacres, etc. 2. All who sat or voted in the general assembly at Kilkenny before the 1st of May, 1643. 3. All jesuits and other popish priests who had in any manner aided or abetted the aforesaid rebellion, massacres, etc. 4. The earls of Ormond, Castlehaven, Clanricarde, and nineteen other noblemen, with Bramhall the protestant bishop of Derry, and eighty-one baronets, knights, and gentlemen, all mentioned by name. 5. All who since the 1st of October, 1641, had slain any persons in the English interest, soldiers or others, except in war. 6. All who did not lay down their arms within twenty-eight days. All other persons not included in those exceptions, who had borne command, or exercised office in the war against the parliament, were to forfeit two-thirds of their estates, and to retain the remaining third, or to receive lands to the same value in another part of the kingdom. All persons who had resided in Ireland from October 1641 to March 1650, and had not been in the service of the parliament from August 1649 to March 1650, or otherwise manifested their good affection to the commonwealth, were to forfeit one-third of their estates.

It was the intention of the parliament to transport as many as possible of the original Irish beyond the Shannon, and this seems to have been effected in a great part of Leinster and of Munster, in which at the present day few of the original Irish have any landed property but what is of late acquisition. The land assigned in Connaught in

* Sir William Petty says, that 6000 boys and women were sent away (in all of course); one catholic writer said 60,000, and another numbered the whole of the exiles at 100,000!! See Lingard, x. 366.

lieu of their thirds exceeded eight hundred thousand acres, which would seem to indicate that a good number had migrated, while the paucity of names belonging to the septs of Leinster and Munster in that province would appear to give a different result. At all events, the great prevalence of Irish names among the peasantry of Leinster and Munster, and their retention of the Irish language, prove that *they* at least were undisturbed. The forfeited lands were divided among the adventurers who had advanced money on the faith of parliament in the beginning of the war, and the soldiers who had served in Ireland from the time that Cromwell took the command. Europe had not witnessed such a transfer of landed property by conquest since the subjugation of the Greek empire by the Turks, and that of Granada by the Spaniards. Catholic writers naturally exclaim against the treatment experienced by the native Irish on this occasion, and we are far from giving it unqualified approbation; we would, however, remind them of the expulsion of the Moriscoes, and the revocation of the edict of Nantes by the catholic sovereigns of Spain and France*.

We must not suppose that the aforesaid act was rigorously carried into effect. It was not so by any means. Many even of those who were excepted by name retained or afterwards recovered their estates. In like manner, though a court was established for the trial of those who had been concerned in the murders and massacres of the protestants, but few were executed, and those only persons of some rank, such as lord Mayo in Connaught, sir Phelim O'Neal in Ulster, and in Leinster Luke Toole, the head of one of the septs of Wicklow, colonel Lewis Moore, Lewis Demley, and some others. The mother of colonel Fitzgerald was burnt for the murders she had committed,

* Even while we write (1838), accounts reach us of the expulsion of the protestant inhabitants of one of the valleys of the Tyrol by the Austrian government—the most tolerant of catholic powers. Well did Pym describe the spirit of popery!

"with this aggravation," says Ludlow, "that she said she would make candles of their fat." The whole number executed is said to have been about two hundred, which makes it probable that the inferior agents were not rigorously sought after. Indeed, as they massacred their victims by wholesale, it must have been a matter of difficulty to procure evidence*.

This conquest strongly resembles that of England by the Normans, and as this last gave origin to the bands of outlaws, so that of Ireland produced the Rapparees or Tories, who harboured in the woods and bogs, whence they issued to commit their ravages in the open country. They proved so formidable, that rewards were set on their heads, 100*l.* for that of the captain, 40*l.* for that of a common Tory†.

We are now to view the foreign relations of the commonwealth. Amity prevailed between it and the courts of France and Spain, and with the eccentric Christina of Sweden. The first dispute was with the king of Portugal, on the following account.

We have seen that a part of the English fleet went over to the prince of Wales. This was put under the command

* "It was remarkable," says Lingard, "that the greatest deficiency of proof occurred in the province where the principal massacres *were said to have been committed.*" He of course means to insinuate that the massacres were mere fictions. Perhaps what is said in the text sufficiently explains this phenomenon.

† Rapparee is apparently a corruption of *robber*. Tory comes from the Irish verb "*toruighim*," *to rob*. The barbarism of the Irish at this time is almost incredible. "Near this place," says Ludlow, (i. 365.) "lay the *creaght* of Lt.-gen. O'Neal, son to that O'Neal who after several years imprisonment in the Tower of London died there. He came over from the service of the king of Spain to be lieut.-general to the army of Owen Roe O'Neal; but upon some jealousy or particular discontent was laid aside. This man, with his wife (who he said was niece to the duchess of Artois) and some children, removed, as the Irish do generally in those parts, with their tenants and cattle, from one place to another where there is conveniency of grass, water, and wood; and there having built a house, which they do commonly in an hour or two, they stay till they want grass and then dislodge to another station." One might think he was describing an *ordoo* of Turkmen. The Gypsies are the only parallel Europe affords.

of prince Rupert, to co-operate with Ormond in Ireland. The parliament on the other hand, on the formation of the commonwealth, turned their attention to the navy; the earl of Warwick, as a presbyterian, was deprived of his office of lord-admiral, and (as the naval did not as yet form a distinct profession) the colonels Blake, Dean, and Popham, were appointed to command at sea, and a board of three, with sir Henry Vane at its head, was to manage the affairs of the admiralty. Chiefly through the exertions of Vane, a formidable fleet was got to sea, and Rupert was blockaded in the harbour of Kinsale. After some months he broke through the blockading squadron with the loss of three ships, and sailed for the coast of Spain, and he wintered in the Tagus. In the spring (1650), Blake appeared at the mouth of that river, and required to be allowed to enter it and attack the pirate, as he styled the prince. This was refused, and as he attempted to force his way he was fired on by the guns of the castle of Belem. He then stationed himself at the mouth of the river and captured the Portuguese merchantmen; the king in return threw the English merchants at Lisbon into prison and seized their goods. Fearful, however, of the effects of a war with the new republic, he forced Rupert to quit the Tagus, and he sent an envoy to London to explain his conduct. It was long before matters could be accommodated, but the affair terminated at last (Jan. 1653) in very valuable privileges being conceded to the English traders. Rupert when driven from the Tagus sailed to the Mediterranean, where he supported himself by piracy, capturing English, Spanish, and Genoese vessels; he thence went to the West Indies and pursued a similar course, till having lost one of his ships with his brother prince Maurice in a hurricane, he sailed to the port of Nantes in France, where he sold his two remaining vessels to the French government (Mar. 1652).

The war with the United Provinces which succeeded was of much more importance. During the lives of the princes of Orange, who were connected with the royal fa-

mily of England, the States were favourable to their cause; but on the death of William of Orange (Nov. 6, 1650), the republican party* got the ascendancy. The English parliament forthwith joined St. John with Strickland their ambassador at the Hague in an embassy, of which the object was to propose a strict alliance and union between the two countries; but owing to various causes (one of which was said to be St. John's haughtiness) the envoys returned without having effected their purpose. The States are also said to have delayed till they should have seen the result of the contest between the parliament and the king of Scots. After the battle of Worcester they sent envoys to London, but the parliament was now elate with triumph, and St. John had already commenced his plan of vengeance. At his instigation Whitelock had introduced (Aug. 5) the celebrated Navigation Act, which was calculated to give such a blow to the Dutch commercial prosperity: letters of marque had also been issued to sundry merchants, and many prizes had been made.

The Dutch early in the following year (1651) equipped a fleet of one hundred and fifty sail, in order, as they asserted, to protect their commerce. Their admiral, Van Tromp, came (May 19) with forty ships into the Downs where Blake was lying with twenty sail, and on being required to strike his flag, his reply, it is said, was a broadside. An action ensued, and the Dutch admiral retired with the loss of two ships. Who was the aggressor is uncertain: the English said Tromp had no right to come off their coast and to fire without provocation; Tromp asserted that he had been driven thither by stress of weather, and that he was preparing to salute the English admiral when the latter fired on him. The States sent over Pauw the grand-pensionary of Holland to explain and apologise, but the parliament would not abate of their haughtiness. They insisted on a large sum of money as compensation

* That is the Louvestein or aristocratic party. This serves to explain the anxiety of the English oligarchy for a union.

for their losses and the charges they had been at, and finally (July 9) issued a declaration of war.

While sir George Ayscue, who was just returned from the West Indies, commanded a squadron in the channel, Blake sailed to the north, where the Dutch were engaged in the herring-fishery. He captured the ships which guarded the fishing-busses, made these last pay the duty of every tenth herring, and sent them home with orders not to fish again without licence. Van Tromp had put to sea with seventy sail, but as he was preparing to engage Ayscue a calm came on, and when he went in search of Blake a storm scattered his fleet, and five of his ships were captured. On his return home he was received with murmurs and reproaches, and he laid down his commission in disgust.

De Ruyter succeeded Tromp in the command. As he was convoying a fleet of merchantmen he was attacked by Ayscue off Plymouth (Aug. 16). The forces were about equal, but the advantage was rather on the side of the Dutch; and Ayscue, who was suspected of royalism, was removed from his command, with, however, a grant of land in Ireland to console him. The pensionary De Witt having joined De Ruyter, and taken the chief command, an indecisive action was fought with Blake off the coast of Kent (Sept. 28); night separated the combatants, but in the morning the Dutch retired to their own coast. Van Tromp was then restored to the command, and with a fleet of upwards of seventy ships he sailed over to the Downs, where Blake was lying with about half the number. The English admiral accepted his challenge (Nov. 30); the combat lasted all through the day. In the night, Blake, who had lost five ships, ran up the river as far as Leigh. Tromp sought him at Harwich and Yarmouth, and then kept cruising along the coast from the North Foreland to the Isle of Wight, with a broom at his mast-head, to indicate that he could sweep the English off the sea.

Every effort was made to wipe away this disgrace. The

ships were refitted, two regiments of foot were embarked as marines, the wages of the seamen were raised, Dean and Monk were joined in command with Blake, and with seventy sail they stationed themselves across the channel from the Isle of Portland to interrupt Tromp, who was convoying a fleet of merchantmen. Blake met him (Feb. 18, 1653) off Cape La Hogue; the action which ensued was obstinate; the Dutch lost five, the English one ship, and Blake himself was severely wounded. The engagement was continued through the two following days, and the Dutch owned to the loss of nine ships of war and twenty-four of the merchantmen.

This was the last triumph of the remnant of the Long Parliament. Their reign, which had lasted for twelve years, had now reached its close; they were doomed to fall by the hands of their own servants.

It is uncertain when the idea of sole dominion first entered the mind of Cromwell. In his despatch after the battle of Worcester, he called it a "*crowning victory*," a very simple and natural expression as appears to us, but one to which his enemies gave an invidious sense. After that victory, he became so elevated, that Hugh Peters, as they were on their return to London, remarked to a friend, "that Cromwell would make himself a king*." In the parliament Cromwell was very urgent to have the Act of Oblivion passed, which his enemies ascribed to his desire to conciliate the royalists. On the 10th of the following December, he invited some of the principal lawyers and officers of the army to meet him at the speaker's house, to deliberate on the settlement of the nation. At this conference the military men were for a republic, the lawyers for a limited monarchy. With these last Cromwell agreed; but on their recommending one of the sons of the late king as the person to be chosen, he said it would be a business of more than ordinary difficulty, but gave it as his

* Ludlow, ii. 12.

opinion that "a settlement with somewhat of monarchical power in it would be very effectual." They came to no result, but Cromwell had gained all that perhaps he wanted, a knowledge of the sentiments of all these different persons.

Beside the Act of Oblivion, Cromwell had forced (Nov. 17) on the parliament another measure which had long slumbered in committee, namely, the setting a term to their own duration. They fixed on Nov. 4, 1654, thus giving themselves three years longer of power certain, and the chapter of accidents for the time to come*. In return they proposed to reduce the army. They first (Dec. 19) disbanded a fourth of the forces. They were proceeding to follow up the blow, when (Aug. 13, 1652) a petition was presented from the army, calling for reform in the law, attention to the subject of religion, etc., tacitly charging them with neglect of their duty in various ways: they took the hint, and desisted.

In the following November Cromwell held a long and confidential discourse with Whitelock, in which he asserted that without "some authority so full and high," as to be able to restrain them both, it would be impossible to prevent the ruin of the good cause by the collision between the parliament and the army. Whitelock told him that he could restrain the army, but that the parliament being the supreme authority could only be controlled by its own good sense and virtue. "What if a man should take upon him to be king?" cried Cromwell. Whitelock replied, the remedy would be worse than the disease; that Cromwell had already the power of a king without the odium; that he would lose many of his friends, and con-

* "Their project," says Godwin, (iii. 470.) "had been slowly and gradually to convince the nation of their worth; to show that they were qualified to govern and to render a people prosperous and happy, to acquire by solid services their good will and approbation, and then to throw themselves on their suffrages." How much in the characters of sir Arthur Haselrig, Harry Marten, and others of the parliament this is! Romance-writers by the way make sad work of history.

vert the national quarrel into a contest between the houses of Cromwell and Stuart. His final advice was, that Cromwell should make a private treaty with the king of Scots, and place him on the throne with such conditions as should secure the liberties of the nation, and have the command of the army assured to himself. Cromwell said they would discourse of it another time, and they separated. Whitelock observed after this that his carriage toward him was much altered.

It is remarkable, that very soon after, through Cromwell's influence, permission was given to the duke of Gloucester to go to reside with his sister the princess of Orange*. This looks as if Cromwell regarded him as a rival.

During the winter various meetings were held by the officers, at which Cromwell took care to aggravate their discontent against the statesmen, whom he represented as only anxious to reserve all the benefits and emoluments of the state to themselves. An immediate dissolution of the parliament was his great object, and he had already proposed that in the interval between that and the meeting of a new one, the government should be exercised by a council of forty, composed of members of parliament and officers of the army. The affair, however, dragged on slowly through the house, which was reluctant to lose its present hold on power, and the impatience of Cromwell was no longer to be restrained. He summoned (Apr. 19, 1653) a meeting of parliament-men and officers to his lodgings at Whitehall, to devise some mode of putting a speedy end to the present parliament. The army party declared that "it was necessary the same should be done one way or the other," for which Cromwell rebuked them. The meeting broke up late at night, but the subject was resumed in

* The princess Elizabeth had died. What Hume tells us of the intention of the parliament to put these children to mechanical trades is totally undeserving of credit. They were always treated with humanity and respect.

the morning. During the discussion word was brought that the house was engaged on the matter of the dissolution, and it was hoped would do as was required. Those who were members went to the house; but it soon appeared that it was their own original bill, not that of the army, they were engaged on, and that they were about to pass it at once that it might obtain the force of law. Harrison "most sweetly and humbly" urged them to pause; Ingoldsbay meantime sped away to Whitehall. Cromwell instantly ordered a party of soldiers to follow him. He proceeded to the house, and leaving the soldiers in the lobby, went in, and taking his seat on one of the outer benches sat listening to the debate. His dress, we are told, was a plain suit of black, with gray worsted stockings. The speaker was about to put the question; Cromwell whispered to Harrison, "This is the time. -I must do it." He rose, put off his hat, and addressed them. His language at first was moderate; but as he warmed his tone altered, and "he told them of their injustice, delays of justice, self-interest, and other faults." "But," said he, "the Lord has done with you, and has chosen other instruments for carrying on his work that are more worthy." Sir Peter Wentworth declared that he never had heard such unparliamentary language, and that too from their own servant. "Come, come, sir," cried Cromwell, putting on his hat and springing forward, "I will put an end to your prating." He paced up and down the floor, apparently in great agitation; then stamping with his foot he cried, "You are no parliament, I say you are no parliament. Bring them in, bring them in." The door was opened, and colonel Worsley entered at the head of more than twenty soldiers. "This is not honest," cried sir Henry Vane; "yea, it is against morality and common honesty." "Sir Harry Vane, O sir Harry Vane," said Cromwell, "the Lord deliver me from sir Harry Vane! *He* might have prevented this, but he is a juggler and has not so much as common honesty." Then without naming

him he abused Whitelock ; pointing to Challoner, he said, "There sits a drunkard ;" to Marten and Wentworth, "There are two whore-masters." He charged others with their vices and ill lives, and then suddenly turning to the guard directed them to clear the house. Harrison advanced to the speaker, and on his declining to rise took him by the hand and led him down. As the members were retiring, Cromwell resumed, "It is you," he cried, "that have forced me to do this. I have sought the Lord both day and night that he would rather slay me than put me on the doing of this work." Alderman Allen observed, that it was not too late to undo all that had been done ; Cromwell charged him with peculation in his office of treasurer of the army and gave him into custody. Then looking at the mace, he said, "What shall we do with this fool's bauble ? Here, carry it away." He took the act of dissolution from the clerk, and putting it under his cloak went to Whitehall, having ordered the doors to be locked.

In the afternoon Cromwell went with Lambert and Harrison to the council of state. He told the members that if they sat as private individuals they should not be disturbed ; but if as a council of state, they should take notice, as they could not be ignorant of what had occurred that morning, that the parliament was dissolved. "Sir," replied Bradshaw with real or assumed dignity, "we have heard what you did at the house in the morning, and before many hours all England will hear it. But, sir, you are mistaken to think that the parliament is dissolved, for no power under heaven can dissolve them but themselves ; therefore take *you* notice of that." Cromwell made no reply, and they retired*.

Thus was terminated the Long Parliament, of whom it has been said, with we fear as much truth as severity, that "scarce two or three public acts of justice, humanity, or

* We hear no more of Bradshaw. Fortunately for himself he died in 1659, just before the Restoration.

generosity, and very few of political wisdom or courage, are recorded of them from their quarrel with the king to their expulsion by Cromwell*." They fell unlamented by the nation†, though a few republican enthusiasts have chanted dirges to their memory. The praises of their panegyrists, we may observe, are almost confined to their successes in war; but these are surely the praises of Cromwell, Blake, and such men, and not of them. Their financial system was as simple as that of an eastern despot: they laid on enormous taxes and levied them by the swords of the soldiery; if they wanted money on any occasion, they ordered the sale of delinquents' estates; if timber was required for the navy, they directed the woods of some delinquent to be felled. In these cases justice was not to be had from them. Lord Craven, for example, had been out of England all the time of the war; one might therefore expect that no charge of delinquency could be made against him; but some one having sworn that he had seen the king in Holland, the parliament voted that his lands should be sold, though it is said he convicted the informer of perjury. Many other acts of oppression of a similar nature will be found. At the same time they were most liberal in providing for themselves; they of course monopolized all lucrative offices; and in perusing Whitelock and the Journals, the ignorant admirers of these stern republicans will be surprised at the sums which they voted themselves under the name of arrears, compensations for losses, etc. Neither should their High Court of Justice and their abolition of trial by jury be forgotten; at the same time it should be recorded to their credit, that they always inflicted the penalty of death in a mild form, and never butchered their victims by quartering and emboweling, as was done under the monarchy.

One most remarkable part of the policy of the republicans has been left almost unnoticed by historians, namely their selling their prisoners for slaves. This we may sup-

* Hallam, ii. 209.

† See Appendix (E).

pose they did in imitation of the Greeks and Romans. They actually commenced this practice during the lifetime of the king, for the Welsh taken by Cromwell in 1648 were sold into the plantations*. The same, as we have seen, was the fate of the Scots after the battle of Worcester. That the wretched Irish should have been sold without compunction was a matter of course; but even the English were not treated any better; for as we shall see, Cromwell after the rising of Grove and Penruddock in 1655 sold the prisoners for slaves. The tyranny, as it was termed, of Charles, surely did not extend so far as this. We shall however find that the example of the commonwealth was not lost on his sons.

* Walker (p. 65) having said that Weaver moved in the house (in 1648) "that all Kent might be sequestered because they had rebelled and all Essex because they would rebell," adds, "and truly this is as good a way as Cromwell's selling his Welsh prisoners for 12*d.* a-head to be transported into barbarous plantations." Walker's work, it is to be observed, was printed in 1649. Elsewhere (p. 144) he says, "By their instruments, called *Spirits*, they have taken up many children and sent them before to be slaves and drudges to the Godly in their schismatical plantations, as the Turk takes up children from the Christians to furnish his nursery of Jenizarics."

CHAPTER XI.

THE PROTECTORATE.

1653—1658.

Form of government.—Barebone's parliament.—Cromwell made Protector.—Conspiracies.—The parliament.—Rising of royalists.—Conquest of Jamaica.—Conspiracy.—New parliament.—The Petition and Advice.—The Protector's inauguration.—Death of Blake.—A fourth parliament.—Plots.—Illness and death of the Protector.—His character.

THE first step taken by Cromwell and the council of officers (Apr. 22) was to put forth a declaration of the grounds and reasons of their dissolving the parliament. They then proceeded to the formation of a new council of state. Lambert proposed that it should consist of ten or twelve members; but the fanatic Harrison was greatly in favour of seventy, that being the number of the Jewish Sanhedrim. Thirteen (the number of Christ and his apostles) was that fixed on, and the council consisted of nine officers (Cromwell included) and four civilians.

The government continued for some time to be exercised in the most anomalous manner, some measures emanating from the council of state, some from that of the officers, others from the lord-general. A ready obedience however was everywhere given; the army and navy never hesitated in their fidelity; the courts of law all proceeded in their usual course. This state of things however was felt not to be secure; for a government without a parliament was a monster in the eyes of the people of England. Cromwell was also aware that the time for his assumption of the sole power was not yet arrived. It was requisite therefore to have a parliament of some kind; but as he feared to make the experiment of a general election in the ancient manner, the following expedient was devised after he and his officers had spent a week in close consultation. The ministers were directed to take the sense of the 'congregational

churches' in the different counties, respecting persons 'faithful, fearing God, and hating covetousness,' and to transmit their names to the council. Out of these the council, in the presence of the lord-general, selected one hundred and thirty-nine members for England; to whom, with six for Wales, six for Ireland, and four for Scotland, writs were issued signed by Cromwell (June 8), summoning them to appear at Whitehall on the 4th of July as members for the places named in the writs, to take on them the trust of government.

On the appointed day the new members to the number of one hundred and twenty appeared at Whitehall. They seated themselves round the council-table, and Cromwell, standing by the middle window with his officers on each side, addressed them in a strain of great piety, the inspiration, as it was thought, of the Holy Spirit. They had been called to their high office, he told them, by God himself, he therefore would give them no charge; he would only pray that they might exercise the judgement of mercy and truth, and be faithful with the Saints, however they might differ in their forms of worship. He anticipated, he said, the commencement from this day of the reign of Christ. Having finished his 'grave, Christian, and seasonable' speech, he placed on the table an instrument under his hand and seal, giving them the supreme authority for the space of fifteen months, at the end of which they were to transmit it to another assembly chosen by themselves for an equal period.

The following day the convention met at the parliament-house. They devoted the entire day to pious exercises, and many declared that "they had never enjoyed so much of the spirit and presence of Christ in any of the meetings and exercises of religion in all their lives as they did on that day." They were, taken all together, an honest conscientious set of men, occupying respectable stations in life, and possessing, if not large, independent estates. But many of them had adopted wild notions in religion and politics,

which they held with obstinacy, because they had no doubt of their truth, and they knew themselves to be single-minded. A leather-seller in London named Praise-God Barebone* being one of the members, the assembly was called in derision Barebone's Parliament; its other popular appellation was the Little Parliament. They invited Cromwell and four of the principal officers to sit among them, but they had no thought of submitting to his dictation; he had styled them the supreme authority, and they were determined to act as such and without control.

Being resolved to lose no time in the correction of abuses and the introduction of necessary reforms in all departments, they formed (20th) eleven committees for various objects; one of which was the advancement of learning; another, the state of prisons and prisoners; a third, provision for the poor. Economy and reform were (as in our own days) the great objects professed to be in view. In pursuit of the former they regulated the excise and the treasury; they abolished useless offices and cut down the salaries in others; and the public accounts were strictly audited. This was all very praiseworthy: but religion and the law were regarded by them as matters of far greater importance, and here their proceedings were quite of the root-and-branch description.

The condition of the law was in itself certainly bad enough, but they regarded it as a perfect Augean stable. There were said to be not less than twenty-three thousand causes pending in the court of chancery, some of which had been there twenty, others thirty years; the expenses were enormous; the justice of the decisions was suspicious. Their remedy was a very simple one—to abolish the whole system. But then came the question, what to do with the pending causes? Bills to answer this purpose were introduced and rejected, but one was on the eve of being passed

* Or rather Barbone, as it was more usually written. The list of the Sussex jury given by Hume in this place is evidently a piece of royalist waggery. See Godwin, iii. 524.

when the parliament was dissolved. The whole body of the law itself being in their eyes a mere chaos of confusion, made up of traditions, statutes and decisions, often obscure, often contradictory, it was deemed the wisest course to do away with it altogether, and form out of it a reasonable code which might be comprised in a pocket-volume and be accessible to all men, and not be a mystery confined to a few. A committee was appointed to effect this, and a commencement was made with the articles *Treason* and *Murder*.

In matters of religion one of the first points which presented itself was that of advowsons. Nothing seemed to be (perhaps nothing is) more adverse to the spirit of true religion, than that a layman, merely as the owner of land, should have the right of imposing a religious teacher on a parish, and could even sell that right like any other species of property. It was therefore resolved that the right of presentation should be taken away, and that the parishioners should be empowered to choose their own pastors. The subject of tithes had been the very first to which they had directed their attention. The members of the committee of religion, however, were of Cromwell's party and not of the fanatics'; they delayed for five months making a report, and when they did they gave it as their opinion that incumbents and impropiators had a property in the tithes. In the debate which ensued, the committee and their friends were defeated, and it was generally rumoured and expected that the parliament would proceed to the abolition of tithes.

The parliament also passed an act on the subject of marriages. They were in all cases to be preceded by a publication of banns, either in the church or in the market on a market-day. The ceremony was then to take place before a justice of peace for the county*.

* This had been already proposed in the Long Parliament, and it was confirmed by that of 1656. Mr. Hallam approves of it, *we* do not. The marriage-rite can hardly be invested with too much solemnity.

This fearless, honest, but ill-judging assembly had thus raised themselves a host of enemies of the most formidable description—the whole body of the lawyers, the clergy, the aristocracy. Cromwell saw that he might now dismiss the parliament, and, being regarded by these classes as the only security for their rights and property against the inroads of fanaticism, assume the sole power for which he thirsted.

The vote on the report of the committee of religion had passed on Saturday the 10th of December. Sunday was spent by Cromwell and his friends in secret deliberation, and early on Monday they appeared in the house, and colonel Sydenham rising made a speech, in which he went over all that had been done, and showed how injurious their measures were to every order in the state. He said he could no longer think of sitting in such an assembly, and moved that they should go in a body and resign their power into the hands of the lord-general. The motion was seconded and opposed; but it was not by argument that Sydenham and his party proposed to succeed. Rous, the speaker, who was one of them, left the chair and went out followed by the sergeant and the clerk and by nearly fifty of the members. There remained thirty-five, and while they were consulting on what was best to be done, colonel Goffe and major White came with some soldiers, and requested them to withdraw: seeing that resistance was vain, they complied, and the doors were locked.

When the speaker and his train came to Whitehall they retired into one of the rooms, and drew up and signed an instrument of resignation. They then obtained an audience of the general, who affected the utmost surprise, and was with difficulty persuaded by Lambert and others to accept of it. The instrument was left in a room in the palace to receive the signatures of other members, and on the third day the number amounted to eighty, a majority of the whole. Meantime a new constitution had been prepared

and submitted by Lambert to the council of officers, which gave Cromwell the authority, though not the title of a king.

The following day (16th) Cromwell was installed in his new office. The street was lined from Whitehall to Westminster-hall; the general came in his coach at one o'clock; at the door the procession was formed; the judges and other law-officers, the lord mayor and aldermen, all in their robes, went first; then came the general, in a suit and cloak of black velvet with long boots and a broad gold band round his hat, followed by the councils of state and of the army. They proceeded to the court of chancery, where the general took his seat on a chair of state surrounded by the members of the bench; the civilians stood on the right, the military on the left side of the court. Lambert came forward, and in the name of the army and the three kingdoms prayed him to accept the office of Protector of the Commonwealth. The Instrument of Government, as the plan of the new constitution was named, was then read by one of the clerks of the council. Cromwell having with feigned reluctance given his consent, the oath was read to him by the lord-commissioner Lisle, and he signed it. Lambert then on his knees offered him the civic sword in a scabbard; he took it, and at the same time laid aside his own military one. He then sat down and put on his hat; the commissioners handed him the seal, the lord mayor the sword; he took them and gave them back. Having exercised these acts of sovereignty he returned to Whitehall. Next day the new government was proclaimed with the ceremonies usual at the accession of a king.

The substance of the Instrument was, that the supreme authority should be in the lord protector and the parliament; the protector to be assisted by a council of not less than thirteen, nor more than twenty-one persons, immovable except for corruption or other miscarriage in their trust. The former functions of royalty in general

were to be exercised by the protector, with the consent of parliament or the council. A parliament was to be summoned for the 3rd of September, 1654, and once in every third year, reckoned from the dissolution of the last, and not to be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved for the space of five months without its own consent. The parliament was to consist of four hundred members for England and Wales, thirty for Scotland, and thirty for Ireland. The smaller boroughs were disfranchised and the number of county members was increased; the qualification for electors was to be the possession of an estate, real or personal, of the value of 200*l*. Those persons who had aided or abetted the royal cause in the late wars were to be incapable of being elected or of voting at elections for the next and three succeeding parliaments. Catholics, and the aiders and abettors of the Irish rebellion, were to be disabled for ever. A provision more certain and less subject to scruple than tithes was to be made for the teachers of religion. All who professed faith in God through Jesus Christ were to be protected; but this liberty was not to extend "to popery or prelacy, or to such as under the profession of Christ hold forth and practise licentiousness," etc. etc.

Oliver Cromwell had thus, by taking advantage of a train of favourable circumstances, raised himself to the summit on which, since his victory at Worcester, he had probably fixed his view. His usurpation, if such it is to be called, was the greatest benefit that could befall the country in its present condition. "It secured the nation," observes Hallam, "from the mischievous lunacy of the anabaptists, and from the more cool-blooded tyranny of that little oligarchy which arrogated to itself the name of commonwealth's men." Had the presbyterians recovered their power, they would have bound their odious intolerant religious despotism on the necks of the people; the royalists, if triumphant, would have introduced the plenitude of ab-

solute power. The rule of Cromwell gave time for men's minds to settle.

As by the Instrument, the ordinances of the protector and the council previous to the meeting of parliament were to have the force of laws, he took an early occasion of repealing the engagement; he made a new law of treason; an ordinance of union, accompanied by an act of oblivion, with Scotland; one appointing commissioners to approve of public preachers, and another for ejecting ignorant and scandalous ministers.

The parties from whom Cromwell had most to dread (for the presbyterians seem at this time to have been quiescent) were the anabaptists and the royalists. His old assistant Harrison and some of the other officers belonged to the former. Harrison, when asked if he would own and submit to the present power, frankly replied that he would not. His commission was then taken from him, and ere long he was placed in confinement. Some of the others were removed; the rest complied with the new order of things. With the anabaptist ministers, the protector found it necessary to proceed with some rigour. During the time of the Little Parliament, these sectaries, thinking that they now had the modeling of the nation in their own hands, used to meet every Monday evening at Blackfriars for prayer and discussion. These meetings were suppressed, and two of their preachers, Feake and Powel, who in their sermons declaimed against the protector as a "dissembling, perjured villain," and threatened him with "a worse fate than had befallen the late tyrant," were sent prisoners to Windsor.

The royalists, on their side, had recourse to conspiracies. In the month of February (1654) a few were arrested for a conspiracy; but it appeared to have been merely the wild talk of some hot-headed persons, and nothing could be made of it. But in the following month of May, a plot to assassinate the protector on his way to Hampton-court was dis-

covered. About forty persons, among whom were the earl of Oxford, the two Ashburnhams, sir Richard Willis, sir Gilbert Gerard and his brother John, were arrested. John Gerard, Somerset, Fox, and one Vowel a schoolmaster, alone were brought to trial before a high court of justice. Fox pleaded guilty; the other three were convicted on the evidence of ten of their accomplices, one of whom was Gerard's brother Charles, a youth of nineteen, he himself being but two-and-twenty. Vowel was hanged; Gerard obtained the favour of being beheaded: he suffered on Tower-hill, avowing his royalism, but denying his participation in the conspiracy.

On the same day with Gerard (July 10), another young man suffered, in whose case the protector showed that in his regard to justice he would be checked by no pretended privileges. Don Pantaleon Sa, brother of the Portuguese ambassador, had an accidental quarrel in the last month of November, with John Gerard, whose fate we have just related, in the New Exchange in the Strand. Next day he came with twenty companions, all armed, and taking a person named Greenway for Gerard, fell on and murdered him. They then took refuge in the house of the ambassador, but they were seized and committed to Newgate. The plea of privilege was disregarded, as it was maintained to be only personal to the ambassador. They were tried before a mixed jury of natives and foreigners, and Sa and four others were found guilty. Three were pardoned; Sa and the other were executed, notwithstanding the interposition of all the foreign ambassadors.

With respect to the royalist conspiracies, it is probable that they were not unknown to Charles II. Cromwell, though he declared that he did not believe in them, threatened retaliation, and hinted that he was in no want of instruments. The royalists in the highlands of Scotland, headed by Middleton, whom Charles had sent over, and encouraged by Angus, Montrose, Athol, Lorn, and other noblemen, had bidden defiance to the English troops; but

they were speedily dispersed by the vigour of Monk; Ireland was completely subdued; foreign powers sought the friendship of the protector: it only remained for him to terminate the war with the United Provinces, in order to consummate his glory.

While all the late internal changes were taking place in England, the Dutch war was not intermitted. In May, 1653, each country sent a fleet of one hundred sail to sea. The English were commanded by Monk, Dean, Penn, and Lawson; the Dutch by Tromp, Ruyter, Witt, and Evertson. They met off the North Foreland (June 2); the action lasted the entire day. Dean and Monk were in the same ship; the former was killed by a chain-shot; Monk instantly flung his cloak over him, lest the men should be discouraged. In the night Blake joined with eighteen ships, and the battle was renewed next day. A panic seized the Dutch, and though Tromp fired on them to rally them, they fled. The loss of the Dutch was twenty-one sail; that of the English only one*.

The States had already, at the desire of the merchants, appointed ambassadors to treat of peace; but they had not set out at the time of this great victory. On their arrival in England (June 22), they found the demands of the council as high as those of the parliament had been. At length (July 26), Cromwell told them that England would be content if Tromp were dismissed for awhile from his command, and the States would consent to a federative union between the two countries. Two of them returned to the Hague for fresh instructions; meantime another battle was fought, and another victory gained, by the English. Monk and Tromp, each with one hundred ships, engaged off the coast of Holland (31st). The battle was long dubious; at length Tromp fell, shot through the heart by a musket-ball; the Dutch lost courage and fled: their loss is uncertain; Monk said that twenty, they

* It is to be observed that the English ships built by Charles I. were mostly larger than those of the Dutch.

themselves that only nine, sail were sunk. No ships were taken.

The negotiations for peace were resumed in October, and after a great variety of manœuvres and delays, a treaty was signed (Apr. 5, 1654), Cromwell receding from all the lofty pretensions of the parliament. By a secret article, the States of Holland engaged never to elect the prince of Orange for their stadtholder, or give him the command of the army and navy. Commercial treaties were also about this time made with Denmark, Sweden, and Portugal: France and Spain were rivals for the favour of the protector.

In this state of things Cromwell met his parliament, the elections for which had been perfectly free. As the 3rd of September happened to fall on a Sunday, the protector requested the members to meet him on Monday, at sermon, in the abbey. He proceeded thither in great state. First rode two troops of the life guards; next, some hundreds of officers and gentlemen bare-headed; his highness's lackeys and pages, in rich liveries, walked before his coach, a captain of the guard was on each side of it; his son-in-law, Claypole, master of the horse, leading a charger richly caparisoned, followed, and he was succeeded by the great officers of state and the members of the council in coaches. After sermon, the protector and the members repaired to the Painted Chamber, where he addressed them in a speech of three hours' length, displaying the wretched, disorganised state of the nation at the close of the Little Parliament, and contrasting it with the prosperous and settled condition to which it had since been brought. It was for them, he said, to put the top-stone to the work, and complete the happiness of the nation. He then desired them to repair to their own house and choose a speaker.

Lenthall was chosen speaker without a division. Though Vane and some others of the leading republicans were not in the assembly, Bradshaw, Haselrig, and Scot, were there,

and it soon appeared that the party of the protector was not the majority. The parties came at once to a trial of strength on the question, whether the government should be in a single person and successive parliaments. It was debated with great vigour during four successive days (8th to 11th) in a committee of the whole house. On the fourth day judge Hale proposed a middle course, in which the republicans seemed inclined to acquiesce, but Cromwell had already determined how to act. The following morning (12th), the members, on going to the house, found the doors locked and the avenues filled with soldiers, and they were told that his highness would meet them in the Painted Chamber. He there showed them how the Long Parliament had brought on its dissolution by its despotism, the last by its imbecility, and that power had been conferred on him, against his will, by the voice of the people, signified in various ways. He told them that in the Instrument of Government, in virtue of which they now sat, four points were fundamental. 1. The supreme power in a single person. 2. Parliaments to be successive, not perpetual. 3. Neither protector nor parliament to have the sole command of the army. 4. Liberty of conscience. These they might not touch; other points might be amended. He therefore had caused to be prepared a Recognition, which they must sign before he could allow them to sit again. He then dismissed them. About three hundred subscribed the recognition; yet, though the more violent republicans were thus excluded, the house did not prove quite so manageable as had been expected.

Shortly after, an accident occurred which was near bringing the protector's ambition to a sudden termination. The duke of Oldenburg had sent him a present of six Friesland coach-horses. One day (Oct. 5th) he went with his secretary Thurloe and some of his gentlemen to Hyde-park, and dined under the trees. After dinner the fancy took him to drive his coach himself, and he mounted the

box, putting Thurloe inside. For some time he went on very well, but on his beginning to use the whip rather freely, the horses got into a gallop and ran away. The postillion was thrown : Cromwell himself fell on the pole, his foot got entangled in the harness, and a pistol which he had in his pocket went off ; at length his foot came out of his shoe, and he fell under the body of the coach and thus escaped. Thurloe, who had leaped out, also received some bruises, and they were both confined to their rooms for two or three weeks. The cavaliers prophesied that Cromwell's next fall would be from a cart.

Meanwhile the parliament went on discussing the Instrument, but carefully shunning the forbidden points. Soon after the protector's accident (Oct. 13), the question of the succession was brought before them. Lambert, in a long and able speech, dwelt on the evils of elective succession, and recommended that the office of protector should be limited to the family of Oliver Cromwell, but the motion was rejected by a majority of two hundred to eighty, and it was resolved, that on his death the successor should be chosen by the parliament, if sitting, if not by the council. Cromwell waited patiently till the five lunar months were expired* ; the parliament then, who had just completed and read a third time their revision of the Instrument, were once more summoned to the Painted Chamber. In a long speech he reproached them with having done nothing during five months, unless it were to give encouragement to the cavaliers and levellers to combine in intrigues against the commonwealth, and he concluded by telling them that the parliament was dissolved.

The coalition of royalists and republicans to which Cromwell alluded was no fiction. The common hatred of *him* united them, and each hoped that when he was overthrown they would be able to subdue their allies and esta-

* " The month in law is always of twenty-eight days unless the contrary be expressed. This seems, however, not to have been generally understood at the time."—Hallam, ii. 335.

blish their own system. Some of the leading republicans, such as colonel Overton and major Wildman, entered into correspondence with the exiled king. Okey, Alured, Lawson, and Hacker, held consultations with Wildman, at which Marten and lord Grey of Groby are said to have been sometimes present. Of the co-operation of Haselrig, Harrison, Carew, and some others, there seems to have been no doubt. The vigilance of the government, however, disconcerted all their plans. Overton was arrested and sent up from Scotland; lord Grey, Harrison, and Carew, were committed to various prisons. Wildman was taken in the very act of dictating 'The Declaration of the free and well-affected people of England, now in arms against the tyrant Oliver Cromwell, Esq.*'

The general rising of the royalists had been fixed for the beginning of March (1655). Wilmot (now earl of Rochester) and sir Joseph Wagstaff came over privately to take the command of them, and Charles himself with Ormond and others moved from Cologne to Middleburg, to be ready to pass over to England. The wakeful eye of government, however, was on their projects, and the partial risings which they made in Yorkshire and the west were easily suppressed. Sir Henry Slingsby and sir Richard Malever, who had been with Wilmot at the head of the former, were taken, but Wilmot himself escaped. In the west, Wagstaff being joined by colonel Penruddock, captain Grove, and about two hundred others, entered Salisbury on a Sunday night (Mar. 11th), and seized in their beds the judges and the sheriff who were there to hold the assizes next day. In the morning Wagstaff prepared to

* A part of Whitelock's remarks on it are as follows: "Divers suspected their designs at the bottom in it to intend the bringing in of the king; because they conclude in their declaration for a *truly free parliament*, which was the way for the king's restauration. And that began now to be held fit and requisite by many sober and faithful patriots, who were distasted at the private ambition of some and their domineering." He hints that he was himself of this way of thinking. We everywhere meet with proofs of the general wish for the restoration of the monarchy.

hang them; but Penruddock and others, horrified at such barbarity, interposed so warmly that he consented to liberate them. The insurgents then proclaimed the king, but finding that none joined them, and that a reinforcement which they expected from Hampshire did not arrive, they retired and passed through Dorset into Devon, where they were attacked at South Molton by captain Crooke, and routed. Wagstaff made his escape, the rest surrendered. Cromwell resolved to venture on trying them by jury, and as their guilt was manifest according to the existing laws, they were all found guilty. Grove and Penruddock were beheaded; some were hanged, others were pardoned; the remainder, without any regard to their station in life, were, in the usual way, shipped off for slaves to Barbadoes.

Hitherto Cromwell had been lenient to the royalists in the hopes of gaining them; of this he now despaired, and he resolved to keep measures with them no longer. A great number of noblemen and gentlemen were arrested; the episcopalian clergy were forbidden to act as schoolmasters or tutors, or to use the church service either in public or private; popish priests were ordered to quit the kingdom under pain of death; cavaliers and papists were not to come within less than twenty miles of the city. He finally *decimated* the royalists, that is, imposed an annual income-tax of ten per cent. on all possessing 100*l.* a year and upwards in land, or 1500*l.* in personal property, who had ever borne arms for the king, or declared themselves to be of the royal party. He thus openly trampled on the Act of Oblivion, which when it suited his purpose he had pressed on so strenuously. The reason he assigned was, that as, by their obstinately keeping themselves separate from the rest of the nation, they were a continual cause of danger, it was but just that they should be made to defray the expenses incurred in guarding against it.

For the collection of this tax, and for carrying into effect his other arbitrary measures, he divided England into eleven districts, over each of which he set a major-

general*. These officers were furnished with most extensive authority; they were empowered to raise troops, levy the taxes, disarm cavaliers and papists, inquire into the conduct of ministers and schoolmasters, arrest and imprison dangerous and suspicious persons. When to these we add the arbitrary system of general taxation continued or imposed, the high courts of justice, the interference with the functions of judges and advocates, we have a picture of despotism before which that of the Stuarts almost sinks into insignificance.

We now turn to the foreign affairs of the protector's government. France and Spain, we have seen, were rivals for his favour. Of all the states of Europe, Spain was, perhaps, the one with which there was least ground of quarrel: it had given no countenance whatever to the royal family, it had been the first to acknowledge the commonwealth. But on the other hand, Cromwell was a zealous protestant, and Spain was bigotedly catholic, and the chief seat of the inquisition; and the gold and silver which it drew from America were, moreover, tempting to the Protector's cupidity. He did not see why Spain should monopolise the wealth of an immense country, the innocent people of which she had so barbarously massacred, and treat as pirates the crews of all ships which were found in those latitudes. He therefore demanded of Cardeñas, the Spanish ambassador, that the trade of the English in the Atlantic should be free. He also required that the English merchants settled in Spain should be secured from molestation by the inquisition. Cardeñas replied, that the American monopoly and the inquisition were his master's two eyes, neither of which he would consent to have put out. The Spanish court, meantime, aware that Cromwell was equipping a fleet, and fearing that it might be intended for the West Indies, sent the marquess of Leyda

* These were Lambert, Desborough, Whalley, Goffe, Fleetwood, Skippon, Kelsey, Butler, Worsley, Berry and Barkstead.

to London; but after staying there five months, he returned without having effected anything.

Cromwell had, in fact, prepared two fleets; the one of thirty sail under Blake had sailed in the preceding month of October (1655) to the Mediterranean, to exact reparation for injuries done to the English trade by the states around that sea. Blake first cast anchor before the port of Leghorn, and he made the duke of Tuscany pay 60,000*l.* for the injuries he had done to the English nation. He then sailed to Algiers (Mar. 10, 1656), and required the Dey to deliver up the English ships and men taken by his piratic subjects. Having received a conciliatory reply, he proceeded to Tunis, and made a similar demand; but the Dey bade him destroy the castles of Goletta and Porto Ferino, and his fleet, if he was able. Blake speedily silenced the fire of these castles, and then entered the harbour and burned nine ships of war that were lying there. He sailed thence to Tripoli, whose Dey submitted at once to his demands. Having thus chastised these pirates, Blake returned to England.

The other fleet, which consisted of thirty sail, commanded by admiral Penn, and carrying four thousand land forces under general Venables, sailed about the end of December for the West Indies, with sealed orders. When they reached Barbadoes (Jan. 29), they opened their instructions, and having enlisted and regimented a good number of those who had been sent thither as slaves, and thus raised their forces to nine thousand men, to which they added twelve hundred at St. Kitt's, they sailed to Hispaniola; but instead of entering the port of St. Domingo at once (Apr. 14), when the town would probably have submitted, they landed the troops at a distance of forty miles from it. Here a mutiny broke out in consequence of commissioner Winslow's issuing a proclamation, stating, in Roman fashion, that all plunder should be public property. This being appeased by Venables, they advanced for three days under a burning sun, and living chiefly on

unripe fruit, which caused diseases among the men. At length they joined a detachment which had landed within ten miles of the town. As they advanced they fell into an ambuscade; they drove off the enemy, but their success was of no avail, for the diseased condition of the troops made it necessary for them to fall back to the station of the detachment, where they remained for a week. When they advanced again toward the town (25th), the road, lying through a thick wood, was commanded by a battery, and the sides were lined with Spanish marksmen. The advance guard in disorder fell back on a regiment of foot, and they on a troop of horse; all was confusion till a body of seamen cleared the wood. But night then came on, and they returned once more to their former station. Here a council of war having decided that success was now hopeless, it was resolved to reembark the troops. They therefore left Hispaniola (May 3); but as the commanders feared to return without having effected something, they made a descent (10th) on the island of Jamaica, the people of which offered no resistance, but they had placed the greater part of their property in security, so that the plunder gained was trifling. By Cromwell and the nation, the acquisition of Jamaica was thought a matter of no importance; yet there were people who saw further into things, and regarded it as really of more value to England than Hispaniola would have been. Penn and Venables were, on their return, both committed to the Tower by the indignant and mortified protector. They had shown themselves inefficient commanders, and by their want of harmony they had almost ensured failure.

Cromwell at this time added to his reputation in the eyes of the world by his prompt and effectual interference in behalf of the Vaudois, or protestant inhabitants of the valleys of Lucerne, Perusa, and San Martino in Piedmont, who were persecuted by their catholic sovereign. There are of course conflicting statements on this subject; but from the known intolerant spirit of the church of Rome,

it is a fair conclusion, that in cases of this kind, and where the catholics were by far the stronger party, they were the aggressors. The Vaudois, it appears, were ordered to give up a part of the valley of Lucerne; they expressed their dissatisfaction, and the duke of Savoy forthwith quartered troops in their valleys. The soldiers acted with insolence and tyranny; the people resisted but were overpowered, and a massacre of about three hundred of the inhabitants of Lucerne was perpetrated (Apr. 21) with all the circumstances, we are assured, of the most revolting barbarity. When the intelligence reached England, Cromwell lost no time in sending off under-secretary Morland as his envoy to Turin; he wrote letters to all the protestant states of Europe, and he made the security of the Vaudois a *sine qua non* in the treaty which was pending with the court of France. The duke was therefore obliged to allow his protestant subjects to exercise the religion of their fathers, and Cromwell sent them a sum of money from himself in addition to what had by his permission been collected for them in the churches.

When the Spanish court was certified of the attempt on Hispaniola, it was thrown into great perplexity, being already engaged in a war with France. It could not, however, tamely pass over such an indignity; it was therefore resolved (Sept. 1) to lay an embargo on the English ships and property in Spain; and Cardeñas also received orders to remonstrate, and if not satisfied to withdraw. He accordingly left England (Oct. 24), and the day after his departure Cromwell put forth a declaration of the justice of the war on his part, and signed the treaty with France, by a secret article of which ten Frenchmen were to be excluded from the British dominions, and Charles II., the duke of York, Ormond, Hyde, and fifteen others from those of France.

Among the events of this year may be noticed the return of the Jews to England, where they had not been settled since the reign of Edward I. Manasseh Ben Israel, a dis-

tinguished rabbi, came over to England to negotiate with the protector on this subject ; and though the bigotry of the committee appointed to consider his propositions did not allow Cromwell to go so far as he wished, he permitted them to come over, to build a synagogue, and to purchase ground for a cemetery.

The motto of political parties seems to be, *Flectere si nequeo superos*, etc., in other words, they are willing to join with those whom they most hate to overthrow an object of common aversion. In accordance with this principle, we now meet the sectarian levellers again in alliance with the royalists, and even with the court of Spain. Edward Sexby, a man who had risen from the ranks to the post of colonel, had been an admirer and an agent of Cromwell's in the army ; he had been a leading agitator ; he was a zealot for liberty, and when his former idol apostatised as he thought, he became his inveterate foe. After the arrest of Wildman and others, Sexby, who had not been taken, went through the country distributing pamphlets. In the May of this year he went over to Brussels, where he informed the count Fuensaldafia of the real destination of the fleet under Penn and Venables, and offered the aid of the levellers against the protector, if furnished with money. Fuensaldafia sent him to Madrid, where he was well received, and he obtained 40,000 crowns, with which he returned to Antwerp, whence he sent various sums to his confederates in England ; and though Cromwell had gotten information, and even seized a remittance of 800*l.*, Sexby crossed the channel, remained some time, and returned in safety.

Charles had made an offer of alliance to the Spanish cabinet after the rupture with England. He engaged to recall to his standard the English and Irish regiments in the service of France ; he boasted of his influence in the English navy, and, like Sexby, only asked for money. After a long period of the usual delay, the court of Spain resolved to accept both offers, and to effect a union between Charles and Sexby. The latter said, that the wish

of his friends was to have a free parliament, in which case there was no doubt that Charles would be restored, though with some limitations. The plan formed was, that Charles should raise four regiments out of his subjects in the service of France, that Spain should furnish a body of six thousand men, and that the levellers should secure for them a port and fortress not distant from London, where they might effect a landing.

While this conspiracy was secretly organised against him, Cromwell issued writs for a parliament to meet on the 17th of September. Great excitement prevailed; the government and its major-generals and other instruments made every exertion to procure favourable returns; on the other side, pamphlets calling on the people now to make a struggle for their liberties were circulated. The result was, that though Scotland and Ireland returned those recommended, England sent to the parliament a great number, such as Haselrig and Scot, strongly opposed to the protector's government. For this, however, Cromwell had a remedy; as the council was empowered by the Instrument to decide on the qualifications of the members returned, he, under various pretexts, chiefly of delinquency or immorality, caused their tickets of admission to be refused to about one hundred persons. The excluded members published a bold and vigorous Remonstrance. Of this, though of a most daring tone, the protector deemed it advisable to take no notice, for his party had now a clear majority in parliament, and that was all that he required.

Acts were speedily passed for renouncing the pretended title of Charles Stuart; and for the security of the protector's person. The war with Spain was resolved to be just and politic, and a supply of 400,000*l.* was voted. In calling this parliament Cromwell had had two main objects in view: the one was to obtain supplies in a legal manner; the other to gain from it the coveted title of king. Various motives probably concurred to make him ambi-

tious of the title, though he was without it possessed of more than regal power. He certainly felt that *prestige* from which few are exempt, attached to names of dignities hallowed by time and long usage; he who was so affectionate to his family may have wished to secure the succession of his son, and even to gratify the vanity of his daughters. The name of king, too, was interwoven into all the institutions of the country; and the lawyers, the clergy, the nobility, and all who were weary of military rule, would be pleased with a prospect of legal and settled government. There were even hopes that the great body of the royalists, on a return to the ancient forms of the constitution, would grow indifferent to the exiled family, and transfer their loyalty to the new dynasty*.

Cromwell, as we have seen by what he said to Whitelock, had had this idea in his mind for some time. He now consulted on the subject with Thurloe, Pierrepont, and St. John; and to gain the good-will of the people, he resolved to commence with allowing the arbitrary rule of the major-generals to be terminated. A bill being brought in (Jan. 7, 1657), of which the object was to confirm their past acts, and invest them with legal authority for the future, it was opposed by Claypole, the protector's son-in-law, and by lord Broghil, his confidant. The debate was continued for ten successive days; the tyranny of the *bashaws*, as they were called, was detailed and dwelt on; but, headed by Lambert, they defended themselves with spirit. One of their arguments amounting to this, that the whole body of the cavaliers should be punished for the offences of some, Henry Cromwell, the protector's nephew,

* Yet it would seem as if Cromwell had thought at times of restoring Charles. Lord Orrery told Burnet, that one day when Cromwell asked him what news there was in the city, he said he was told that he was in treaty with the king, who was to be restored and to marry his daughter. Cromwell did not express any indignation, and Orrery recommended it as the best expedient; but Cromwell answered, "The king can never forgive his father's blood;" and on Orrery's trying to obviate this objection, he replied, "He is so damnably debauched, he would undo us all."—Burnet, *Own Times*, i. 128.

replied, that on this principle, all the major-generals ought to be punished, because some of them had done ill, of which he could produce proofs. He was called on to name, and he professed himself ready to do so; but the debate was adjourned. It was hinted to him that his uncle would not be pleased with his conduct; but he went that very night and told the protector what he had done, and added, that he "had his black book and papers ready to make good what he had said." Cromwell replied in a jesting manner; and taking off a rich scarlet cloak and his gloves, gave them to Harry, who strutted into the house with them next day. The bill was finally lost (29th) by a large majority, and the major-generals remained exposed to actions at law for their previous conduct.

While this bill was pending, a plot to murder the protector was discovered. The agent was Miles Syndercomb, who had been a quarter-master in Monk's army, but had been dismissed for his share in Overton's plot. Sexby, when last in England, had arranged the plan with him, and there can be no doubt but that Charles and his court knew and approved of it. The death of Cromwell was to be the signal for the rising of the levellers and royalists, and the invasion from Flanders. Syndercomb and another named Cecil bribed Tooke, a life-guardsman, to give them information of the places where Cromwell was to pass, intending to shoot him from a window; but something always occurred to frustrate them, and at Wildman's suggestion they altered their plan. One evening at six o'clock (Jan. 9) they entered the chapel at Whitehall, and having set a basket of combustibles in one of the pews, lighted a slow match, calculated for six hours; but as they were coming out they were all seized, for Tooke had betrayed them. Cecil told all he knew, which only amounted to this, that some persons in the palace were to kill Cromwell in the confusion. Syndercomb was tried and condemned for high treason (Feb. 9); he would give no information, and he was found dead in his bed a few hours

before the time appointed for his execution (13th). The royalists and levellers maintained that he had been strangled by Cromwell's orders; the verdict of the jury was suicide by snuffing up a poisonous powder.

The pulse of the house on the subject of kingship having been felt after the discovery of this plot, about a month later (Feb. 23), alderman Pack rose and presented a paper, called 'A humble Address and Remonstrance,' protesting against the present uncertain form of government, and calling on the protector to assume a higher title, etc. The officers instantly rose in a great heat, and Pack was borne down to the bar; but order being restored, and lord Broghil, with Glyn, Whitelock, and the lawyers and dependents of the court supporting Pack, the paper was read, and it was resolved to take it into consideration. It was debated, article by article, and at length adopted under the title of 'The humble Petition and Advice.'

The only opposition which Cromwell had to fear was that of the army, in which interest swayed some, fanaticism others, to oppose it. Lambert, in particular, was against it; for being the second person in the country and a vain ambitious man, he looked forward to being the next protector. His proposal to the officers was, to bring up five regiments of cavalry and compel the house to confirm the Instrument and the establishment of major-generals. They hesitated however to adopt this bold measure, and he then withdrew from their councils. The inferior officers also held meetings, and they sent (28th) one hundred of their number to inform the protector of their sentiments. He reminded them that at one time they had offered him the title of king; he said he had always been the drudge of the officers; that the parliament had been called contrary to his judgement, that it required to be controlled, which could only be done by enlarging the authority of the protector. Several were convinced by his reasons, but they had no effect on the majority. They, however, agreed that if the question of the title were kept to be last con-

sidered, they would make no opposition to those of his being empowered to name his successor, and of the parliament's consisting of two houses as he proposed.

On the 25th of March the title of king was voted, and six days after a committee waited on the protector with The Petition and Advice. He spoke of the "consternation of his mind" at the offer, and requested time "to ask counsel of God and his own heart;" at the same time approving of every thing but the new title to be given to himself. At his desire, a committee was appointed to hear and resolve his scruples. After various conferences, he owned (Apr. 20) that his doubts were removed, and at length he appointed a day (May 6) to meet the parliament, when it was fully expected that he would accept the royal title.

Cromwell had vainly sought to gain his brother- and son-in-law, Desborough and Fleetwood, over to his design. They now told him that they must resign their commissions; and Desborough having informed Pride of what Cromwell was about to do, the latter cried out, "He shall not." When asked how he could prevent it, he said by a petition signed by the officers: they approved of his plan, and went straight to Dr. Owen, and prevailed on him to draw up one without delay.

The 8th was the day finally fixed for the protector to meet the parliament. On the morning of that day, colonel Mason and six-and-twenty other officers came and presented the petition, in which they asserted that the design of those who urged the general to take the title of king was to destroy him and bring the nation under the old servitude, and prayed the parliament to continue steady to the old cause, for which they themselves were willing to lay down their lives. When Cromwell heard of this, he sent for Fleetwood, and asked him why he had let a thing of that kind proceed so far, when he knew that he would not accept a crown without the consent of the army; and he desired him to go back and stop it. Shortly after, the

members were summoned to Whitehall, and Cromwell concluded a long and embarrassed speech by formally declining the title of king.

The word *protector* being substituted for *king*, Cromwell gave his assent to 'The humble Petition and Advice.' It empowered him to name his immediate successor and restored the two houses, giving the protector the right of nominating the members of the Other House, as it was termed, but subject to some restrictions. The inauguration of the protector took place on the 12th of May, in Westminster-hall. He stood on a platform at the upper end of the hall; the speaker arrayed him in a purple mantle lined with ermine; presented him a bible superbly bound, and placed a golden sceptre in his hand. The oath was then administered to him; a long prayer from the chaplain succeeded. The protector sat down between the French and the Dutch ambassadors, the earl of Warwick and the lord mayor holding a sword at each side of him; the trumpets sounded, and the heralds proclaimed the style of the protector, to which the spectators responded. He then rose, bowed to the ambassadors, and walked down the hall to his coach. The house of commons then adjourned for six months. Most of the officers took the oath of fidelity to the protector; Lambert refusing, was deprived of his commissions, which were worth to him 6000*l.* a year; but he obtained a pension of 2000*l.*

About this time, a pamphlet entitled 'Killing no Murder,' and written with great energy, came out in Holland. The writer of it is generally considered to have been captain Titus, though Sexby, who sent thousands of it over to England, claimed it as his own. Having determined that Cromwell was a tyrant and that it would be meritorious to kill him, and eulogised Syndercomb, it assured the protector that there were numbers ready to follow that example, and that he was not safe in his bed or at his board. Sexby soon came over again, but he was taken and died in prison.

We must now return to the war with Spain. In the

spring of 1656 a fleet sailed from Portsmouth, under Blake and Montague. Their destination was Cadiz and Gibraltar; but not feeling themselves strong enough to attack either of them, they sailed to the Tagus, where they obliged the king of Portugal to ratify the treaty concluded with him, and pay the stipulated sum of 50,000*l*. They then went to the Mediterranean and again returned to Lisbon, leaving captain Stayner with six frigates before Cadiz. Soon after (Sept. 10) a Spanish fleet of eight sail from the Havannah came in sight; Stayner attacked it and sunk four, and took two laden with treasure. One of the ships destroyed was the vice-admiral's, on board of which was the marquess of Vaydes, the viceroy of Peru, and his wife and seven children. When the ship took fire, the marchioness and her eldest daughter fainted; the marquess would not abandon them, and he perished with them and one of his sons; the other children were saved and brought to England. The value of the silver taken was estimated at two millions; and Cromwell, to dazzle the populace, caused it to be conveyed in waggons from Portsmouth to London.

As Montague had returned home with the prizes, Blake remained in the sole command, and in the spring (1657) he sailed for the Canaries to intercept the plate-fleet from Mexico. He found it already lying in the port of Santa Cruz in Teneriffe, the plate-ships, ten in number, being moored in a crescent close to the shore, with seven galleons in a line before them; the entrance of the harbour was commanded by the guns of the castle, and around it were seven batteries. Blake resolved to attack. He caused a solemn fast to be held, and next morning (Apr. 20), Stayner leading the way, the fleet entered the harbour under a shower of balls and shells. By two in the afternoon the batteries were silenced and all the ships in the possession of the English; but the wind which had brought them in, now opposed their egress. Blake ordered the prizes to be burnt, and soon after the wind changed to the south-west, and enabled them to get out to sea. The English had lost

only forty-eight men in this daring action. Blake returned home some time after, but his health was gone, and he died (Aug. 17) as his ship was entering the harbour of Plymouth. The protector gave him a magnificent funeral, and his remains were deposited in Westminster-abbey.

Blake, like most of the eminent men of this age, was a gentleman by birth and education. He had distinguished himself in the civil war by his gallant defence of Taunton against the royalists. With the sea he was totally unacquainted; but his vigorous mind when engaged on a new element soon struck out a new course, and he first showed his countrymen how forts and land-batteries could be silenced by shipping. Our naval history properly begins with Blake and the first Dutch war.

In the month of November Cromwell married his two youngest daughters to lord Falconberg and to Mr. Rich, grandson of lord Warwick. The bride of this last, however, became a widow the following February.

In the spring of this year, Lockhart, a Scottish judge, who was married to Cromwell's niece, had proceeded as his envoy to Paris, and a treaty of alliance for a twelvemonth was concluded with Louis XIV. Cromwell was to supply a force of six thousand men, and in return was to get Mardyke and Dunkirk when reduced. The result of the campaign was the reduction of the former place, which received an English governor.

The parliament met (Jan. 20, 1658); it presented the ancient form of the two houses, the protector having summoned by writ sixty persons* to form the Other House. Cromwell addressed them in the ancient style—"My lords, and gentlemen of the house of commons." But the experiment proved a failure. As by the Petition and Advice the commons were authorised to judge of the qualifications

* Some were of the old nobility, all in general were highly respectable; but he injudiciously placed Pride and Huson among them, and in consequence even Warwick refused to attend.

of their body, the secluded members had resumed their seats, and there was now a powerful opposition headed by Haselrig and Scot. They allowed the commons to occupy themselves with nothing but the title and rights of the other house. Cromwell soothed, and reasoned, and menaced to no purpose. He then formed his resolution with his usual promptitude. One morning (Feb. 4) he threw himself into a coach that was standing at the gate of Whitehall, beckoned to six of the guards to follow him, and drove to the parliament-house. He summoned the commons to his presence. He then, as usual, talked of his dignity having been forced on him, and reproached them with thwarting instead of aiding him, while he was environed with conspiracies; it was therefore time to put an end to their sitting, "and I do dissolve this parliament," said he, "and let God judge between me and you." "Amen, amen," responded several voices. Thus was a fourth parliament dissolved. Addresses to the protector from the army and counties, towns, and boroughs were easily procured, and were inserted in the newspapers, to convince the world of the popularity of his government.

At the same time several arrests took place; for the conspiracies of which he spoke were no fictions. Ormond was actually in London at this very time negotiating with the various political parties, and transports were collected at Ostend to carry over an invading force. But Cromwell had a source of intelligence which the royalists little suspected. There was a select band of six, named the Sealed Knot, who enjoyed the principal confidence of Charles and his court, and were the directors of the royalists in England. Sir Richard Willis had most influence in the Sealed Knot, and *he* was in the pay of Cromwell! For Willis having been arrested one time, Cromwell, it is said, undertook to prove to him that it was for the interest of the royalists themselves that their plots should be prevented; Willis was, or affected to be, convinced, and it was arranged that he should give information, but never be brought for-

ward as a witness or required to name any person. For this service he had an annual stipend of 200*l*.

The protector, therefore, knew of Ormond's being in London, and when it was thought that he had been there long enough, a hint was given him, and he hastened to Shoreham and embarked for France. Shortly after, some of the members of the Knot and other royalists were arrested, and sir Henry Slingsby, Dr. Hewit, John Mordaunt brother to lord Peterborough, sir Humphrey Bennet, and captain Woodcock were brought to trial before a high court of justice. Slingsby was a gentleman of advanced age*; he had been a prisoner at Hull ever since the rising in 1655, in which he had been engaged; the charge against him was his having given the officers of the garrison commissions from king Charles. Hewit was an episcopalian clergyman and an active agent for the exiled king. Mordaunt also had distributed commissions. Hewit refused to plead, but that availed him not, and he and Slingsby were found guilty. Mordaunt was acquitted, the principal witness against him having been bribed to abscond. Slingsby was married to the aunt of lord Falconberg, and the lady Claypole strongly interested herself for Hewit; but the protector would hearken to neither daughter nor son-in-law in their favour: they were both beheaded (June 8). Bennet and Woodcock were acquitted.

While Cromwell thus suppressed conspiracy at home, his arms prospered on the continent. After a victory gained by Turenne over the Spaniards (June 8), in which the valour of the English troops had decided the fortune of the day†, Dunkirk was invested; it surrendered in a few days (17th), and was delivered up to the English by Louis in person.

* Slingsby's very interesting Diary has been published. It might have taught a late writer that *all* the royalists were not debauchees.

† King James II. who was present at this action, in the French service, speaks in his Life with his usual enthusiasm on the subject of the valour of the English.

Cromwell would seem to be now at the height of his glory, victorious abroad and absolute at home, but never was his state more precarious; he wanted money, he was surrounded by enemies. To procure the former it seemed necessary to call a parliament. He appointed a council of nine to devise means of obviating the influence of the republicans in it, of raising a revenue from the estates of the royalists, and of settling the succession. But after three weeks' deliberation they came to no conclusion of importance, and the protector, suspicious of some of the members, dissolved the council (July 8).

To secure himself against the secret attempts of his enemies, he adopted various precautions; he wore armour inside his clothes and carried pistols in his pockets. He drove at full speed, his coach filled with attendants and surrounded by guards, and he always returned by a different road. He changed his bed-chamber frequently, and often personally inspected the night-watch of the palace. His nights were sleepless, or his rest was feverish and disturbed, and the anxiety of his mind visibly preyed on his health. Domestic affliction also came to add to his cares. In the relations of son, husband, and father, no one ever went beyond Cromwell in sincere affection; and his favourite daughter, Elizabeth Claypole, was now dying of an internal abscess, and the grief occasioned by the death of her youngest son augmented her danger. Cromwell abandoned all affairs of state, and went to Hampton-court, where she lay. He spent much time in her room, and always left it with an air of the deepest melancholy. When her death took place (Aug. 6), though he had long expected it, the event gave him a great shock. He was himself confined at the time with a fit of the gout; he was also seized with what was called a bastard tertian ague. One day (24th) hearing one of his physicians whisper to another that his pulse was intermittent, he grew alarmed, caused himself to be put to bed, and executed his will; but next morning when the physicians visited him, he took his wife by the

hand, and said, "I tell you I shall not die this bout, I am sure of it." Observing their surprise, he added, "Do not think I am mad; I speak the words of truth upon surer grounds than your Hippocrates or Galen can furnish. God himself hath given this answer, not to my prayers alone, but to the prayers of those who maintain a stricter correspondence and greater intimacy with him. Go on, therefore, confidently banishing all sadness from your looks, and deal with me as you would with a serving-man." His confidence extended to his family and friends. "His highness," writes Fleetwood, "has had great discoveries of the Lord to him, and assurances of being restored and made further serviceable." "O Lord," said his chaplain Goodwin, "we pray not for his recovery; that thou hast granted already: what we now beg is his *speedy* recovery."

But these predictions were not to be verified. At Whitehall, whither he had moved, his disease turned to a double tertian (28th); he became delirious, and, at times, insensible. In one of his lucid intervals he asked his chaplain Sterry if it were possible to fall from grace. On his replying in the negative, "Then," said he, "I am safe, for I am sure I was once in a state of grace." On the night of the 2nd of September he was heard to pray to this effect; "Lord, I am a poor foolish creature. This people would fain have me live; they think it best for them, and that it will rebound much to thy glory; and all the stir is about this. Others would fain have me die. Lord pardon them, and pardon thy foolish people; forgive their sins; and do not forsake them, but love, and bless, and give them rest, and bring them to a consistency, and give me rest for Jesus Christ's sake; to whom, with thee and the Holy Spirit, be all honour and glory, now and for ever. Amen."

The next day (3rd) was his fortunate day, that of Dunbar and Worcester. After long lying insensible, he expired about four in the afternoon, amidst the tears of his attendants and in the sixtieth year of his age. When the news was brought to those who were assembled to pray for his reco-

very, Sterry is said to have stood up and to have bid them not be troubled, "for," said he, "this is good news; because if he was of great use to the people of God when he was amongst us, now he will be much more so, being ascended to heaven to sit at the right hand of Jesus Christ, there to intercede for us and to be mindful of us on all occasions." Even his sagacious secretary, Thurloe, writing to Henry Cromwell, says, "He is gone to heaven, embalmed with the tears of his people, and upon the wings of the prayers of the saints."

This extraordinary man was a gentleman by birth, and educated at Cambridge, whence he went to Lincoln's Inn; but, instead of devoting himself to the study of the law, he plunged into the vices and excesses of the town. He speedily however reformed, and then running into the opposite extreme, became an enthusiast in religion. In the contest between the king and parliament his latent military talents were developed; these did not consist in tactics or manœuvres, but in vigour and decision; he never sought to surprise the enemy; his plan was to fall on with impetuosity. He had the art of attaching the soldiers both by his religious exercises and by a coarse kind of buffoonery and jocular language. His great skill in politics lay in knowing how to turn to advantage the opportunities which fortune presented*; as a ruler he sustained the national honour in a manner which called to remembrance the glorious days of Elizabeth. In his domestic relations the character of Cromwell was every way estimable; he was a sincere friend and a placable enemy. He loved justice and delighted not in blood; yet ambition made him at times trample on the one and shed the other: it is possible that in the case of the king he thought himself justified both by reason and

* Mrs. Hutchinson justly remarks (p. 310), that "fortune itself seemed to prepare his way in sundry occasions." Hobbes says, "I cannot believe he then (in 1648) thought to be king, but only by well serving the strongest party (which was always his main polity) to proceed as far as that and fortune would carry him."

revelation. He never lost his sense of religion, though, like many other enthusiasts, he made hypocrisy compatible with it. His desire for the title of king is, like Cæsar's, a curious instance of human weakness. On the whole, Cromwell's is a name which Englishmen will generally be found to mention with respect.

CHAPTER XII.

THE COMMONWEALTH RESTORED.

1658—1660.

The Protector's funeral.—State of parties.—Dissolution of parliament.—The Rump recalled.—Royalist insurrection.—Despotism of the officers.—Proceedings of general Monk.—Restoration of the king.

IMMEDIATELY after the death of the protector, his council met, and it was resolved to proclaim his son Richard, whom he was said (but the fact is very doubtful) to have nominated as his successor. Richard was proclaimed in the usual manner; not a murmur was heard; and addresses poured in from the army and navy, the churches, the cities, and the boroughs. The royalists and the republicans, who had hoped to see the whole frame of government fall to pieces when the vigorous mind of Oliver was gone, looked on in amazement.

Richard Cromwell was a man of the most amiable, generous temper, but utterly deficient in the energy requisite for the situation in which he was placed. He had never been a soldier, and he made no pretensions to the character of a saint. He had spent his early days in the Temple, and when he married he retired to the house of his father-in-law and led the life of a country gentleman. His father, when protector, made him a lord of trade, then chancellor of Oxford, and finally a member of his house of peers.

The funeral of the late protector was celebrated on a scale of expense such as England had never witnessed before. The model adopted was that of the funeral of Philip II. of Spain. Somerset-house was hung with black; the effigy of the protector, clad in royal robes, with the scap-

tre in one hand, the globe in the other, was placed on a bed of state; a crown lay on a cushion behind the head; the only light in the apartment proceeded from waxen tapers. After two months (Nov. 1) the effigy was removed to the great hall, where it appeared in an erect posture, with the crown on its head and the sceptre and ball in its hands. Hundreds of tapers were so arranged beneath the roof, that their light resembled the rays of a sun. At length (23rd) the effigy was conveyed in state to the magnificent tomb in the abbey in which the real body had been long since deposited.

Though the officers had acquiesced in the succession of Richard, they soon gave him reason to feel that they were disposed to limit his power; they renewed their meetings, and in a body of more than two hundred they presented a petition requiring that no officer should be deprived but by sentence of a court-martial, and that the chief command and the disposal of commissions should be given to some one of whose devotion to the cause there could be no doubt. Richard assented so far as to appoint Fleetwood lieutenant-general (Oct. 14), but it would be contrary to the Petition and Advice, he said, for him to part with the chief command and the power of granting commissions. With this they appeared to be satisfied, but they still continued their meetings.

The only security against the officers, and the only means of obtaining money to pay the soldiers, being a parliament, writs for one were issued (Nov. 30); but as the plan of giving additional members to the counties had not proved favourable to the court, the old mode was resorted to in England, while the new form was retained in Scotland and Ireland, where the influence of the government was paramount. Most of the small boroughs therefore returned the court-candidates, and when the parliament met (Jan. 27, 1659) the state of the parties proved to be as follows. The Protectorists or adherents of the Petition and Advice composed one half of the house; the Repub-

licans, headed by Vane, Ludlow, Lambert, Bradshaw, and Scot, were about fifty, among whom was lord Fairfax, a secret royalist; the Moderates or Neuters constituted the remainder. These were chiefly presbyterians, but among them were several cavaliers, or sons of cavaliers, who had their instructions from Hyde to embarrass the government, and to foment the dissensions between it and the republicans. Mr. Challoner Chute was chosen speaker.

The question of the recognition of the protector caused a long and stormy debate, and it was not carried without great difficulty; that relating to the Other House was still more violently disputed, but the commons at length consented to transact business with them during the present parliament, with sundry limitations of their authority. Thus far the royalists had supported the courtiers; they now began to act on the other part of their instructions. Complaints were made of various tyrannical acts, such as selling men for slaves in the West Indies, of extortions and embezzlement of the revenue; and secretary Thurloe and Boteler, one of the major-generals, were menaced with impeachments.

These proceedings gave alarm to the officers, who feared there would be soon a power superior to their own. They were divided into two parties; those who adhered to the interests of Richard and met at Whitehall, such as Ingoldsby, Whalley, Goffe, and others, and those who met at Wallingford-house, the residence of Fleetwood, such as Desborough, Sydenham, Berry, and Haynes, whose object was to make Richard merely a civil magistrate, and to keep the army in their own power. A third party now appeared at St. James's, composed of Ashfield, Lilburne, Mason, and men of strong republican principles. The republicans in the house finding their weakness, soon entered into close relations with the Wallingford-house party; there was also a junction formed with the party at St. James's. A general council was formed, and a 'Humble Representation and Petition,' complaining of the neglect

of the good old cause and its supporters, etc., was drawn up and presented to the protector, and by him to the commons, who took no notice of it. They then, with the protector's consent, called a general council of officers to make propositions to the parliament respecting the army. It was decided by this council that the command of the army should be committed to some one in whom they could all confide, and that every officer should declare his approbation of the death of Charles I. and the subsequent acts of the army. The commons took alarm and voted (Apr. 18) that the officers should no more meet in a general council, and also declared (21st) that the command of the army was only to be exercised by the protector. The officers then appointed a rendezvous of the army next day at St. James's; the protector summoned a counter-one to Whitehall. But the troops all went to the former, and at noon Desborough came from them to tell him that if he would dissolve the parliament the officers would take care of him, but if not they would do it without him. After consulting with his friends, among whom Whitelock alone opposed the dissolution, he consented, and the parliament was dissolved.

The officers having thus put an end to the parliament, were now somewhat uncertain how to act. They wished above all things to retain their power, for which purpose they were not unwilling to continue Richard in his office; at the same time they felt the necessity of money. Their first thought was to raise it, like Cromwell, by the power of the sword; but this proving too hazardous, they listened to the proposals of their republican allies, and agreed to reinstate the Rump parliament. They proposed a settlement on Richard, and the retention of the other house under the name of a senate; but matters not brooking delay, these points were reserved, and a Declaration in the name of Fleetwood and the general council of the army was issued (May 6), inviting the members of the Long Parliament who had continued sitting till April 20th, 1653, to return

to the exercise and discharge of their trust. Next day forty-two members met in the Painted Chamber, and headed by Lenthall, passed into their house through lines of officers. Sir George Booth, Prynne, Annesley, and others of the secluded members attempted to enter the house, but the doors were closed against them.

A committee of safety (all its members but Vane and Scot being military men) was appointed (9th), and a few days after (13th) a council of state of thirty-one civilians and officers was chosen. Addresses poured in as usual; the house voted (21st) "A free commonwealth without a single person, kingship, or a house of peers." All this, however, was far from being agreeable to the Wallingford-house party; those of them who were members of the council rarely attended, and when they did, they behaved with great insolence; they scrupled to take the oath "to be true and faithful to the commonwealth in opposition to Charles Stuart, or a single person;" they sent to the parliament (15th) "the things which they had on their minds," when they restored it, in the form of fifteen demands, bearing the modest title of 'The humble Petition and Address of the Officers.' In this they required an act of indemnity for those who had acted under the late power, Fleetwood to be commander-in-chief, the protector's debts to be paid, and an income of 10,000*l.* a year to be settled on *him*, and 8000*l.* a year on his mother "her highness-dowager;" the government to consist of a representation of the people, and a select senate, etc. The parliament replied, that they would take these things into consideration, and give all possible satisfaction. The act of indemnity was passed, but in an unsatisfactory form; the debts of Richard amounting to 29,000*l.* were transferred to the public account, a sum of 2000*l.* was given him for present purposes, and the 10,000*l.* a year was voted. He was at the same time required to leave Whitehall, as it was suspected that the officers kept him there for purposes of their own. It was feared that his brother Henry, who was a man of more

spirit, would offer resistance in Ireland, where he was lord-deputy, but he yielded obedience to the mandate of the parliament.

But the great object of the parliament was, as Ludlow expresses it, to provide "that for the future no man might have an opportunity to pack an army to serve his ambition." For this purpose two bills were passed; the one nominating a committee of seven persons to recommend officers to the house; the other making Fleetwood commander-in-chief, but only for the present session, or till they should take further order therein, and directing that the officers approved of by the parliament should receive their commissions not from him but from the speaker. These restrictions were opposed by Ludlow, Vane, and Salloway, as needless and only tending to disgust the army, but the fervent zeal of Haselrig, Sidney, and Neville, would hearken to no suggestions of prudence. Notice being given to the officers that it was expected they would take new commissions from the speaker, a council was held at Desborough's house, at which Ludlow and Haselrig, who now had regiments, attended. The officers were very high; Desborough even said, that he thought the commission he had as good as any the parliament could give, and that he would not take another. But the next morning (June 8) colonel Hacker and his officers came at the persuasion of Haselrig, and took their commissions from the speaker, and the ice being now broken, others followed. Fleetwood took his the day following, and Lambert soon after.

It was voted at this time (6th) "that this parliament shall not continue longer than May 7th, 1660."

While the republican oligarchs were thus employed, the royalists were by no means idle. Negotiations had been carried on with the leading presbyterians, and they were now all pledged to the royal cause. Richard Cromwell had been offered a title and 20,000*l.* a year; his brother was also solicited, and he at one time is said to have meditated declaring for the king. Fleetwood, Lambert, and Monk

also were applied to. A general rising on the 1st of August was arranged, and the king and his brothers were at the same time to pass over with the troops which they had assembled. But Willis still kept up his correspondence with Thurloe, and the parliament was thus put in possession of their secrets. His treachery however was at this time discovered through Morland, the secretary of Thurloe, who forwarded to the court at Bruges some of Willis's communications in his own hand-writing. Willis, after his usual manner, when the government had been put on its guard by himself, represented to the Knot that the project was now hopeless, and persuaded them to write circulars forbidding the rising (July 29). Accordingly, it was only in Cheshire that it took place, where sir George Booth called on the people, without mentioning the king, to rise and demand a free parliament. He took possession of Chester, where he was joined by the earl of Derby, lord Herbert of Cherbury, sir Thomas Middleton, and other royalists. But their spirits were damped when they learned that their friends all remained inactive, and that Lambert was advancing against them with four regiments of horse and three of foot. They moved to Nantwich, intending to dispute the passage of the Weever; but Lambert easily forced it, and their men broke and fled at his approach (Aug. 16). Colonel Morgan and about thirty men were killed, and three hundred were made prisoners. The earl of Derby was taken in the disguise of a servant, and Booth, as he was on his way to London, dressed as a woman, was discovered at Newport-Pagnel in Bucks.

Lambert hastened up to London, leaving his army to follow by slow marches. A sum of 1000*l*. which was voted him, he distributed among his officers, and shortly after (Sept. 14) they sent up from Derby a petition (secretly transmitted to them from Wallingford-house), requiring that there should be no limitation of time in Fleetwood's commission, that Lambert should be major-general, that no officer should be deprived of his commission except by

sentence of a court-martial, etc. This petition having been shown to Haselrig by Fleetwood (22nd), he hastened into the house, and having caused the doors to be locked, moved that Lambert and two other officers should be taken into custody. But on Fleetwood's asserting that Lambert knew nothing of it, they contented themselves with passing a vote expressive of their dislike of the petition; and it was resolved "that to augment the number of general officers was needless, chargeable, and dangerous." Several meetings were now held at Wallingford-house, and another petition was drawn up, which was presented (Oct. 5) by Desborough and other officers. It was in substance the same as the former, but it further demanded that those who groundlessly informed the house against their servants should be brought to justice. This was aimed at Haselrig and his friends. The house in the usual manner returned them thanks for their good expressions, but soon after (11th) a vote was passed, making it treason to raise money without consent of parliament. Next day Lambert, Desborough, and seven other colonels were deprived of their commissions for having sent a copy of the petition to colonel Okey, and by another vote Fleetwood's office was taken away, and he and six other persons were nominated to form a board for the direction of the forces.

Haselrig having thus thrown down the gauntlet, prepared for defence. He reckoned on the armies of Scotland and Ireland, the regiments of Hacker, Morley, and Okey, and some others about London had assured him of their fidelity, and the parliament had a guard of chosen horse, under major Evelyn. Orders were given for these troops to move to Westminster, and early in the morning (13th) the regiments of Morley and Moss, with some troops of horse, occupied the palace-yard and the avenues of the house. Lambert, on the other hand, drew together his men, and posted them in King-street and about the abbey. The two parties faced each other, but the men were loath to fight against their brothers in arms, and their officers

did not urge them. When the speaker came up in his coach, Lambert sneeringly ordered one of his officers to conduct the 'lord general' to Whitehall, but he was suffered to return to his own house. The council of state then met, and after a good deal of altercation it was agreed that the parliament was not to sit, that the council of officers should keep the public peace, and cause a form of government to be drawn up, which should be laid before a new parliament speedily to be summoned. Fleetwood was declared to be commander-in-chief, with full powers, Lambert major-general, and a committee of safety was appointed.

To ascertain the feelings of the armies in Ireland and Scotland, colonel Barrow was sent to the former country, and colonel Cobbet to the latter. Barrow found the officers and men wavering and divided; Cobbet was imprisoned by Monk, who declared for the parliament.

The conduct of Monk, who now becomes the principal object of attention, is ambiguous beyond example. He had early served under Goring in the Netherlands; he was in the royal army in Ireland, and was made a prisoner at Nantwich; he remained in the Tower till the end of the war, when he got a command in Ireland; he attached himself strongly to Cromwell, by whom the government of Scotland was confided to him; he continued his attachment to Cromwell's family, and he wrote to Richard a most judicious letter, pointing out the best modes of securing his power. Monk was no speculative republican, he was no fanatic in religion, though much influenced by his wife, who was a presbyterian. He was a man of a phlegmatic temper, and of impenetrable secrecy. The royalists always had hopes of him; and it is not improbable, that now seeing the power of Cromwell's house gone, his secret plan was to aid, if it could be done with safety, in restoring the king.

The first care of Monk was to secure the castles of Edinburgh and Leith, and to occupy Berwick. When this was known in London, it was resolved that Lambert

should march against him; and he set out forthwith for the north (Nov. 3), having previously exacted a promise from Fleetwood, that he would come to no agreement with either the king or Haselrig without his approbation.

Monk meantime went on re-modelling his army: those of his officers who were of the Wallingford-house party having resigned their commissions, he supplied their places with such as he could depend on; he also displaced many who had been put in by the parliament. As his treasury and magazines were well supplied, and he knew that his opponents wanted money, he sought to procrastinate; he therefore sent deputies to London, and on their return pretending that the agreement which they had concluded was somewhat obscure, he opened a negotiation with Lambert, who was at Newcastle, in order to have it explained. Meanwhile he went on reforming his army, dismissing even the privates of whom he was not certain, and supplying their place with Scots. He held a convention of the Scottish estates at Berwick, and having commended the peace of the country to them during his absence, and obtained a grant of money (Dec. 6), he fixed his headquarters at Coldstream, where he still continued to amuse Lambert with negotiations.

Meantime the cause of the army was losing ground in city and country. The apprentices in London had frequent scuffles with the soldiers; an attempt was made to seize the Tower; admiral Lawson declared for the parliament, and brought his fleet up to Gravesend; Whetham, governor of Portsmouth, admitted Haselrig and Morley into the town, and the troops sent against them went over to them; the Isle of Wight declared for the parliament. At length the soldiers themselves abandoned their officers, and putting themselves under the command of Okey and Alured, they assembled (Dec. 24) in Lincoln's-Inn-fields, and having declared for the parliament, marched by Lenthall's house, in Chancery-lane, and saluted him as their general. On the 26th, the speaker and those members who were in town

walked to the house, the soldiers shouting and cheering them as they passed. Haselrig returned in triumph, and the vivacious Rump once more flourished.

Fleetwood had on his knees surrendered his commission to the speaker; Lambert, Desborough, and others, made their submissions in the humblest manner, but they were all confined to their houses at a distance from London. The army was re-modelled; not less than fifteen hundred officers being discharged. The Rump proceeded to punish such members as had been of the late committee of safety; Vane was expelled, and ordered to retire to his house at Raby; Salloway was sent to the Tower; Whitelock had to resign the great seal, and narrowly escaped being committed also. Charges of treason were made against Ludlow and others. A new council of state was appointed, and an oath, renouncing kingship and the Stuarts in the strongest terms, was imposed on all members of the parliament. Meantime, lord Fairfax and Monk had arranged that on the same day (Jan. 1, 1660) the latter should cross the Tweed, and the former should seize the city of York. The engagement was punctually performed; the royalists in York opened the gates and admitted Fairfax. Though the weather was severe, Monk continued his march; Lambert's troops having obeyed the orders sent to them to disperse, no opposition was encountered; and having stayed five days to consult with Fairfax at York, Monk resumed his march for the capital (16th), the invitation to do so being now arrived. It was Fairfax's advice that he should remain in the north, and there proclaim the king, but he said it would be dangerous in the present temper of his officers; in fact, he caned at York one of them for charging him with this design. At Nottingham (21st) they were near signing an engagement to obey the parliament in all things "except the bringing in of Charles Stuart." At Leicester (23rd) Monk was obliged to sign an answer to a petition from his native county, Devon, giving it as his opinion, that monarchy could not be restored, that it would

be dangerous to recall the secluded members, and advising submission to the present parliament. At this town he was joined by Scot and Robinson, two of the members sent, as it were, to do him honour, but in reality to discover his intentions. He treated them with great respect, and always referred to them the bearers of the numerous addresses that were presented to him, for the restoration of the secluded members and a free parliament.

The troops which Monk had brought with him did not exceed five thousand men, and those in and about London were more numerous; he therefore wrote from St. Albans (28th), requiring, to prevent quarrels or seduction, that five regiments should be removed. An order was made to that effect (Feb. 2), but the men refused to obey; the royalists of the city tried to gain them over; they remained, however, faithful to the parliament, and, on being promised their arrears, marched out quietly the next morning. Monk led in his troops the following day, and took up his quarters at Whitehall.

On the 6th Monk received the thanks of the house. In his reply, he noticed the numerous addresses for a free and full parliament which he had received, expressed his dislike of oaths and engagements, and his hopes that neither cavaliers nor fanatics would be entrusted with civil or military power. By some his speech was thought too dictatorial. "The servant," said Scot, "has already learned to give directions to his masters." Monk also excited suspicion, by demurring to the oath abjuring the Stuarts to be taken by members of the council of state. Seven of the other members, he observed, had not yet taken it, and he should like to know their reasons; experience had shown that such oaths were of little force; he had proved his devotion to the parliament, and would do so again.

The tide of loyalty still continued to swell in the city. The secluded members held frequent meetings there, and some even of the king's judges who were in parliament entered into communications with them. The last elec-

tions had given a common council zealous for a full and free parliament; they set the present one at naught, refused to pay the taxes imposed by it, and received and answered addresses from the counties. To check these proceedings, it was resolved by the council of state that eleven of the common council should be arrested, the posts and chains which had been fixed in the streets be taken away, and the city gates be destroyed. In the dead of the night (9th), Monk received orders to carry this resolution into effect. He obeyed, though his officers and soldiers murmured; the citizens received him with groans and hisses, but made no opposition. When the posts and chains were removed, Monk sent to say that he thought enough had been done; but he was directed to complete the demolition, and he therefore destroyed the gates and portcullises. He then led his men back to Whitehall, and, having there coolly considered the whole matter, he thought he saw a design to embroil him with the citizens, and, finally, lay him aside. In concert with his officers, he wrote next morning (10th) to the speaker, requiring that by the following Friday every vacancy in the house should be filled up, preparatory to a dissolution and the calling of a new parliament. He then marched his troops into Finsbury-fields, caused a common council to be summoned, and told them that he was come to join with them in procuring a full and free parliament. His speech was received with acclamations; he was entertained at the Guildhall; his soldiers were feasted; the bells were tolled; bonfires were lighted, and the populace amused themselves with roasting rumps at them, in ridicule of the parliament.

Monk remained in the city till the 21st. He had daily conferences with all parties, but none could penetrate the veil of secrecy in which he enveloped himself: his words were all for a commonwealth, while many of his actions spoke a different language. It was now arranged that the secluded members should be allowed to take their seats on certain conditions, one of which was, that writs should be

issued for a new parliament to meet on the 20th of April. After an absence of more than eleven years, Hollis, Pierrepont, and the other presbyterians resumed their seats, while Haselrig, whose eyes up to this moment had been closed to the duplicity of Monk, retired in despair with his adherents.

All the proceedings against the king and themselves were now annulled: sir George Booth and his friends, the Scottish lords, and several royalists were released from prison; Lambert was sent to the Tower; the government of Hull was taken from Overton, and committed to lord Fairfax; Lawson was voted to be vice-admiral, and Monk and Montague to be generals at sea. Monk was also made general of all the land-forces in the three kingdoms; the city chose him major-general of their militia; he was made steward and keeper of Hampton-court, and a sum of 20,000*l.* was voted him. The engagement was now repealed; but the Assembly's confession of faith was approved of, and the league and covenant was ordered to be printed and hung up in the churches; the execution of the laws against popish priests and recusants was enjoined. The council of state which was appointed was composed of presbyterians, and they also held most civil and military offices. In this state of things, having issued writs for a parliament to meet on the 25th of April, the ever-memorable Long Parliament put a termination to its own existence on the 16th of March.

Monk still dissembled; but now seeing how the elections were going, he ventured to open his mind to a royalist agent. Mr. Morrice, his relative and confidential friend, having informed him of the state of feeling in the West, he consented to have a private interview with sir John Greenville, who was also his relation, but at the same time high in the confidence of the king. Greenville delivered him a letter from his royal master, which Monk received with great respect: he mentioned the difficulties of his situation, and therefore desired him to confer in private

with Morrice. An answer to the royal letter was drawn up, in which Monk advised that the king should send him a letter to lay before the parliament; he recommended an amnesty, total or nearly so, liberty of conscience, confirmation of the national sales, and payment of the arrears of the army. When it had been read, he threw it into the fire, bidding Greenville to remember the contents.

It was also a part of Monk's advice that the king should quit the Spanish dominions*. Charles therefore moved from Brussels to Breda, whence he forwarded by Greenville a declaration, with letters to the house of lords, the house of commons, the lord mayor and city, Monk and the army, Montague and the navy. Copies of them all were sent to Monk, who was to do as he pleased with the originals. The declaration was very different from what he had proposed, but he made no objection.

If ever there was a parliament freely chosen, it was the present one: there was no court or army now to control the elections; the territorial aristocracy was enfeebled, and could use none but its legitimate influence; the royalists (the catholics of course excepted) were no longer deprived of the right of voting; all parties therefore put forth their strength, and the royalists (the moderate presbyterians included) had a most decided majority. The republicans obtained few seats, and their only hopes lay now in the army, and by representing to the officers that they would be obliged to resign their purchases, and to the privates that they would lose their arrears, they succeeded in exciting a mutinous spirit. Lambert, having escaped from the Tower, hastened down to Warwickshire to put himself at their head. He had collected a few troops of horse and some foot, when Ingoldsby, now a royalist, met him near Daventry (Apr. 21). Captain Haselrig (son to sir Arthur)

* It is said to have been the intention of the Spaniards to detain Charles till Jamaica and Dunkirk should be restored. According to Clarendon (vii. 452), he narrowly escaped detention.

passed over with his troop to Ingoldsby; others followed their example, and Lambert, left alone, having vainly tried to induce his former fellow-soldier to let him escape, surrendered. Colonels Cobbet, Creed, and some others also were taken. At the very moment (24th) when Monk was reviewing the militia of the city in Hyde-park, Lambert and his friends were driven by Tyburn, on their way to the Tower, amidst the hootings of the populace.

The next day the house of commons met, and the presbyterians succeeded in having sir Harbottle Grimstone, one of their party, chosen speaker. Monk sat as one of the members for Devon. At the same time the peers who had sat in 1648, assembled in their house without opposition; but it was plain that they had no exclusive right, and some of those who had been excluded applied to Monk. On his replying that he had no authority to determine any claims, a few of them ventured to take their seats; no one opposing, others followed, and in a few days the presbyterians formed only a fifth part of the house.

On the 1st of May Greenville came to the door of the council-chamber (by Monk's secret direction), and requested a member to tell the lord-general that one wished to speak to him. Monk came to the door; Greenville put a letter into his hand; Monk, perceiving that it was sealed with the royal arms, directed the guards not to let the bearer depart. Greenville was soon called in and interrogated by the president; he was ordered into custody, but Monk said that he now perceived he was his near relation, and he would be his security. The drama had reached its conclusion; Greenville delivered all his letters, and received the thanks of the house and 500*l*. The letters to the army, navy, and city were read to them by Monk, Montague, and the lord mayor, and addresses to his majesty were unanimously voted*.

* "The period of our prosperity," says Mrs. Hutchinson (p. 359), "was come, hastened on partly by the mad rash violence of some that, without

The declaration from Breda contained a promise of pardon to all except those who should be hereafter excepted by parliament; a promise to consent to any act of parliament that should be passed for the indulgence of tender consciences; a promise to allow the parliament to regulate all differences respecting the rights and titles to lands, and a similar promise respecting the military arrears.

How illusory all this was is plain to be seen; the king in effect was bound to nothing, and what the complexion of the next parliament was likely to be, no one could have a doubt. The upright sir Matthew Hale, therefore, with Prynne and others, called on the house to pause, and now, while they had the power, to make a final settlement of the claims which had hitherto caused collision between the crown and parliament. But Monk opposed the revival of these disputed questions at this time, when every moment was precious. Let the king, he said, but come, it would be always in their power to impose limitations. The house rang with acclamations, and the king was restored without any restriction*.

A sum of 50,000*l.* was voted to the king, 10,000*l.* to the duke of York, and 5000*l.* to the duke of Gloucester. The arms of the commonwealth were every where taken down, and the royal arms put in their place. Charles was proclaimed with great solemnity (8th); and the ministers were ordered to pray for him and the duke of York. Commissioners were sent to invite the king to come and receive his crown.

Charles lost no time in proceeding from Breda to the Hague. The States, who had hitherto neglected him, now treated him with the utmost respect and magnificence.

strength, opposed the tide of the discontented tumultuous people, partly by the detestable treachery of those who had sold themselves to do mischief, but chiefly by the general stream of the people, who were as eager for their own destruction as the Israelites of old for their quails."

* Hallam, however, (ii. 397) shows that limitations would have been perfectly useless.

Montague being arrived with the English fleet in the bay of Schevelin, he got on board (23rd). At Dover (25th) Monk, at the head of the nobility and gentry of Kent, received him as he landed. He kissed and embraced the general, made him walk by his side and ride in the coach with himself and his brothers. As he proceeded, the people crowded from all parts to see and welcome him. On the 29th, his birth-day, he approached the capital. The army, which was drawn out on Blackheath to receive him, greeted him with joyful acclamations as he passed. In St. George's-fields the lord mayor and aldermen invited him to partake of a cold collation in a tent. The houses from London-bridge to Whitehall were covered with tapestry; the streets were lined to Temple-bar by the militia on one side, the city companies in their liveries on the other; thence, to Whitehall, by militia and regiments of the army. Troops of gentlemen richly clad, with their footmen and trumpeters, the city companies, the sheriffs, mayor, and aldermen, rode along; the lord-general and the duke of Buckingham followed; the king, riding between his two brothers, succeeded; the cavalcade was closed by the general's guards, and five regiments of horse, and two troops of noblemen and gentlemen. Such was the general joy displayed, that the king, in his agreeable manner, observed, "It must surely have been my fault that I did not come before, for I have met with no one to-day who did not protest that he always wished for my restoration."

Thus at length terminated the experiment of a commonwealth in England. It had never been popular, for it was in opposition to all the habits, feelings, and prejudices of the people, and was associated with ideas of military rule and excessive taxation. It had given no taste of real liberty, having been from the commencement the despotism of an oligarchy or of an individual. Yet it was not quite barren of benefit to the nation, for it swept away

much of the rubbish of the feudal times which now only served to encumber and render foul the social edifice ; and we shall find the rights and liberties of the nation much less trampled on under the restored monarchy than had been the case in the times antecedent to the commonwealth, partly as the result of positive law, still more of the spirit which had been infused into the nation by the long conflict between the crown and parliament. The calm and philosophic student of history will therefore feel disposed to regard the civil war and commonwealth as among the means necessary for the final establishment of rational and bounded liberty in England, and not hastily to look on them as pure and unmitigated evils.

It has been observed that democracy has not yet been tried in this country. This remark is perfectly just : nothing could have been further from the thoughts of the Vanes, the Ludlows, and the Haselrigs, than the idea of giving political power to the lower classes of society*. In fact, we only find this notion in the wild projects of the Levellers. It was reserved for our own age to see that most galling of tyrannies, a pure democracy, advocated even by members of the aristocracy in the great council of the nation. It is self-evident that it can only be established on the ruins of the throne, the church, and the aristocracy ; and none but those on whom the lessons of experience are lost, or who hope for personal gain in the change, can desire such a consummation.

Numerous religious sects, differing only in the degrees of absurdity and fanaticism, sprang up during this period of commotion. Of these the only one that took permanent root is that of the Friends or Quakers, founded by an en-

* The following lines of Milton (Par. Reg. iii. 49) are not of a very democratic character :

And what the people but a herd confused,
A miscellaneous rabble, who extol
Things vulgar, and well-weigh'd scarce worth the praise ?
They praise and they admire they know not what
And know not whom, but as one leads the other.

thusiast named George Fox, the son of a weaver, and originally a shepherd-boy. It rested on a literal interpretation of some parts of Scripture and a rejection of all ordinances in religion : hence it drew on itself a cruel persecution both from the commonwealth and the restored monarchy. The gaols in those days of intolerance were filled with Quakers, who endured with all the heroism of martyrs rather than conform to the language, habit, manners, and religious observances of the rest of the nation.

In politics this sect has at all times been decidedly republican, but it has generally abstained from political agitation.

CHAPTER XIII.

CHARLES II.*

1660—1667.

First measures of the crown.—Trials and executions of the regicides.—Crown and church-lands.—Duke of York's marriage.—Savoy conference.—Trial and execution of sir Henry Vane.—Affairs of Scotland;—of Ireland.—King's marriage.—Sale of Dunkirk.—Act of Uniformity.—Dutch war.—Great plague.—Five-mile act.—Fire of London.—End of the Dutch war.—Fall of Clarendon.

ENGLAND, after nearly twenty years of anarchy and confusion, now resumed her original form. The clouds seemed to be all dissipated, and a bright sun of royalty about to shed peace and happiness all over the land. But this appearance was fallacious; Charles, bland and courteous, easy and negligent as he was, had adopted principles and formed habits which soon dispelled the flattering hopes in which men were led at first to indulge.

Historians have remarked with a kind of astonishment, the sudden change which took place in the conduct of the people; flinging away, as it seemed, the rigour of religion, they rushed madly into excess and licentiousness. It is, however, an error to suppose that the people were changed; the only change was in the ruling power. Those who had been really religious, remained so still; but such has never been the character of the great body of a people. During the whole time of the suspension of royalty, the power had been in the hands of men who, though fanatics, were religious; the same was the character of the army†. All the

* Authorities :—Clarendon, Burnet, Pepys, Evelyn, Life of James II., Temple, &c.

† Whitelock and others will furnish proofs of this. Burnet, speaking of some regiments that he saw at Aberdeen, says, "There was an order and dis-

outward expressions of vice and pleasure were therefore suppressed, and the nation wore an aspect of rigour and sanctity which did not really belong to it. The weight being now removed, it resumed its natural bent, and men ran wildly into excess in proportion to the severity of the restraint under which they had been held. This is one among the many evil consequences of making men religious by law and force.

The first care of the king was to reward those who had been active in his restoration, and to form his council. Monk was created duke of Albemarle, and Montague earl of Sandwich, and both had the garter. Annesley was made earl of Anglesea; Denzil Hollis, lord Hollis; and Ashley Cooper, lord Ashley. The earl of Manchester was appointed lord-chamberlain, and lord Say lord privy-seal. Monk's friend Morrice was made one of the secretaries of state. Of the old royalists, Hyde was made chancellor, Southampton treasurer, Ormond steward of the household; sir Edward Nicholas continued to be a secretary of state, and lord Colepepper master of the rolls.

The present parliament not having been summoned legally, was no more than a convention, and its acts were therefore not binding. It however passed an act declaring itself to be the parliament, and then proceeded to the consideration of the many weighty matters it had to determine.

The first was to provide a revenue for the crown. As it appeared that a chief cause of the late unhappy troubles had been the inadequacy of the revenue to the exigencies of the government, it was resolved to settle an income of 1,200,000*l.* a year on the king. In return, was required the abolition of tenures in chivalry, with all their incidents, such as wardships, marriages, etc., together with purveyance and pre-emption—all, for centuries, fruitful sources of

discipline, and a face of gravity and piety among them, that amazed all people. Most of them were Independents and Anabaptists: they were all gifted men, and preached as they were moved."

evil, and constant subjects of complaint and remonstrance. This being consented to, the next question was, whence the aforesaid revenue was to arise. A permanent tax on the lands thus relieved was the obvious and equitable course ; but he knows little of parliaments, who thinks that this would be assented to by the owners of lands who sat in them, while any mode offered of shifting the burden. Some one mentioned the excise ; the idea was at once embraced, and it was carried by a majority of two that a moiety of the excise on beer and other liquors should be settled on the crown ; and thus this tax, originally so odious, was made permanent. By this act (12 Car. II. ch. 24), a most important change was wrought in the constitution, the prerogative losing its most influential branch. We will here add, that at the close of the session, the remaining moiety of the excise was given also to the crown.

An army of sixty thousand men, whose pay required an assessment of 70,000*l.* a month, was alike dangerous to the crown and burdensome to the nation. Symptoms of disaffection had already appeared among the soldiers, and Monk declared that he could no longer answer for the troops. It was therefore resolved to lose no time in disbanding them ; money was procured to clear off their arrears, the regiments were reduced one after another, eulogies were lavished on the soldiers, and without mutiny or murmur they merged into the mass of peaceful citizens ; and thus disappeared that wonderful army, only to be rivalled perhaps by those of the early days of the Roman republic and those of the first Khalifs, in the union of religion, discipline, and undaunted valour. The king was strongly urged by the duke of York to retain this army, or to raise another ; to this course he was himself inclined, but he knew that it was useless to propose it to the parliament. Monk's regiment, named the Coldstream, was however retained, with one or two of horse, and one formed out of the troops at Dunkirk was afterwards added ; the

whole amounted to about five thousand men, and under the name of guards formed the germ of the present large standing-army.

The bill of indemnity also occupied the attention of parliament. They had been engaged on this even before the arrival of the king. Monk had recommended the king not to except more than four persons ; but the commons at first (May 16) excepted seven by name ; they afterwards enumerated twenty persons, who, though not regicides, should for their share in the transactions of the last twelve years, be affected with penalties short of death : they finally excepted such of the king's judges as had not surrendered themselves on the late proclamation. When the bill came to the lords (July 11), where the old royalists prevailed, it was judged to be far too lenient. They voted to except all the king's judges, and also Vane, Lambert, Haselrig, Hacker, and Axtel ; they struck out the clause respecting the twenty persons, and then sent the bill back to the commons. But here there were some feelings of honour and humanity. By the proclamation above-mentioned, the king's judges were required to surrender themselves on pain of being excepted from any pardon or indemnity as to their lives or estates. The obvious construction of this was, that the lives of those who came in would be in no danger, and accordingly nineteen had surrendered. It was contended that these should be set at liberty, and suffered to make their escape if they could. A compromise at length was effected. Most of the king's judges were excepted, as also were Hacker, Axtel, and Hugh Peters ; but the nineteen were not to suffer death without an act of parliament for that purpose. Vane and Lambert were also excepted ; but by an address of both houses, the king was requested to spare their lives if they should be attainted. Haselrig, lord Monson, and five others were to lose liberty and property, and Lenthall, St. John, Hutchinson, and sixteen more, all members of the high courts of justice, were to be ineligible to any

office whatever. In this form the bill of indemnity received the royal assent.

After sitting about three months, the parliament adjourned, and during the recess the twenty-nine regicides who were in custody were brought to trial before a court of thirty-four commissioners, of whom some were old royalists; others, such as Manchester, Say, Hollis, and Annesley, members of the Long Parliament; with these sat Monk, Montague, and Cooper, the associates of Cromwell, whom a feeling of delicacy should, perhaps, have withheld from the tribunal.

Most of the prisoners expressed sorrow for their crime; others said that they had borne the king no malice, that they thought his death an act of national justice, and that they had acted under the supreme authority of the nation. They were all found guilty; those who had surrendered were, with one exception*, respited; ten were executed. These were six of the king's judges, Harrison, Scot, Carew, Jones, Clements, and Scroop; Cook, one of the counsel on the trial; Axtel and Hacker, who had commanded the guards; and Hugh Peters, the fanatic preacher. The place of execution was Charing-cross, where a gallows was erected for the purpose. General Harrison suffered first (Oct. 13). Supported here, as on his trial, by that fervid spirit of enthusiasm so perfectly free from all alloy of worldly motives, he gloried in the act for which he was brought to die as performed in the cause of God and his country, and expressed his confidence in the revival of the good cause in happier times. Carew was the next who suffered (15th); his conduct was similar. Cook and Peters were executed on the same day (16th); the latter alone, it is said†, showed want of courage, and was obliged to have recourse to cordials. Scot, Clement, Scroop, and Jones,

* Namely, Scroop. His having, after his surrender, expressed his real sentiments on the execution of Charles I., in reply to an insidious question, was the pretext for this breach of faith.

† Burnet, Own Times, i. 291.

also suffered on the same day (17th). Hacker and Axtel closed the scene at Tyburn (19th). All died with the constancy of martyrs. It is very remarkable, that not a single man of those who had a share in the death of the late king seems to have voluntarily repented of the deed*.

Though one must admire the constancy and magnanimity of the sufferers, most of whom were gentlemen by birth and education, the justice of their sentence is not to be denied, even on their own principles; and it was impossible for Charles to suffer such a heinous deed as the solemn execution of his father to go unpunished. But there was another part of the royal vengeance which can be regarded with no other feelings than those of abhorrence and disgust. The bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw, were taken from their tombs in the Abbey, drawn on hurdles to Tyburn on the anniversary of the death of Charles I., hung on the gallows till evening, then taken down, the heads cut off and fixed on Westminster-hall, and the trunks thrown into a pit. The bodies of about twenty persons (those of Blake and Cromwell's respectable mother included) were afterwards taken out of the Abbey and buried in the adjoining church-yard.

The lives of the remaining regicides were spared; they spent the rest of their days in different prisons. The witty and licentious Harry Marten died at the age of seventy-eight, in Chepstow-castle. They surely had no just reason to complain of their fate, if they recollected how many royalists *they* had, as far as in them lay, subjected to a similar destiny.

* The narratives in the State Trials were drawn up by the friends of the sufferers, and are evidently partial. Who can believe that "after Harrison's body was opened, he mounted himself and gave the executioner a box in the ear"? At the same time, it is evident, that they were treated with a degree of cruelty and barbarity, for which the conduct of their party, when in power, offered no precedent. The compilers of those narratives, we may observe, lower, while aiming to raise, the characters of their heroes, by representing them as thorough religious fanatics.

Another important point for the parliament to decide on was the case of those who had purchased the crown- and church-lands and the estates of royalists, which had been sold by the public authority in the late times. A bill was introduced for an equitable adjustment, but it met with much opposition; and nothing having been done when the parliament was dissolved, the crown, the church, and the other proprietors entered on the lands in question, and the occupiers, having no legal titles to produce, were obliged to sit down contented with the loss of their purchase-money. But it was only the leading royalists that gained in this way; thousands of gentlemen who had sold their lands to support the royal cause, or to pay the sequestrations imposed on them for their loyalty, and had thus been reduced to poverty, remained without remedy. The sales having been legal, the present possessors were secured by the bill of indemnity, against which the disappointed cavaliers now exclaimed, saying it was indeed an act of oblivion and indemnity, but of indemnity for the king's enemies, and of oblivion for his friends. They taxed the king with ingratitude, and they conceived, on account of it, a mortal hatred to Hyde. Their case was doubtless a severe one, but there was really no preventing it but at the risk of a civil war. It was observed that the most clamorous were those who had suffered least, and the petty services for which many claimed large rewards furnished matter for ridicule.

The church was a difficult matter to arrange. Most of the livings were in the hands of the presbyterians, and they had so mainly contributed to the Restoration, that it would be both ungrateful and unsafe to attempt to disturb them. On the other hand, both the king and the chancellor were resolved to re-establish episcopacy. There was also a difficulty about the livings, for such of the clergy as had been ejected for their loyalty, seemed now to have a just claim to recover what they had lost. This, however, was accommodated to a certain extent; but the vision

of the jurisdiction of bishops, and the dreaded surplice, ring, and cross, alarmed the presbyterians. They proposed bishop Usher's model of episcopacy, and prayed that the habits and ceremonies might not be imposed, and that the liturgy might be revised. The king issued a declaration, apparently granting all they required; but when an attempt was made to have this converted into a bill, it was frustrated by the efforts of the court-party in the commons. It was quite plain from this that the royal declaration was only meant to be illusory.

At length (Dec. 29) the convention-parliament was dissolved, for it was urged that it was necessary to have a true parliament, to give the force of law to what it had enacted; and it was also expected that a new parliament would be more purely royalist.

In the September of this year the duke of Gloucester died of the small-pox, much lamented by the king his brother. Their sister, the princess of Orange, died of the same disorder in the winter. The king's other sister, the princess Henrietta, was married about this time to the duke of Orleans, brother to Louis XIV.

Another marriage in the royal family was that of the duke of York to Anne Hyde, daughter of the chancellor, who had been maid of honour to the princess of Orange. She possessed wit and sense, though not beauty. The duke, whose taste on this last point was never very delicate, laid siege to her virtue, which was surrendered on a secret contract of marriage; when the consequences were becoming apparent, James kept his promise, and privately espoused her (Sept. 3). He informed the king and chancellor. The former, though annoyed, forgave him; the latter pretended the greatest rage against his daughter, advised the king to send her to the Tower, and that not being done, confined her to a room in his own house. The queen-mother and the princess of Orange were highly indignant; and Charles Berkeley, to recommend himself to favour, swore that Anne had been his mistress, and brought

lord Arran, Jermyn, Talbot, and Killegrew, as witnesses of her wantonness. The duke was shaken ; but on the birth of her child, and her solemn assertion at that time, and Berkeley's confession of the falsehood of his story, he resolved to do her justice. He acknowledged her as his duchess, and she bore her new rank, it is said, as if she had been born in it.

The new year (1661) opened with a wild outbreak of the fanatics named Fifth-monarchy men, under their leader, Venner, the wine-cooper. One Sunday (Jan. 6), having heated their enthusiasm by a discourse on the speedy coming of Jesus and the reign of the saints, he issued from his conventicle, in Colman-street, at the head of sixty well-armed fanatics. They proceeded to St. Paul's, proclaiming King Jesus. They drove off a party of the trained-bands that were sent against them, and in the evening they retired to Caen-wood, between Hampstead and Highgate. Here some of them were taken : but on Wednesday morning (9th) they returned into the city, shouting as before, and dispersed some of the troops and of the trained-bands. At length, some being killed, and Venner taken, they retired into a house at Cripplegate, which they defended, till a party, headed by one Lambert, a seaman, got in at the roof. Most of them were slain ; Venner and the remainder were hanged. The attempt was purely an isolated act, but advantage was taken of it to issue a proclamation for suppressing the conventicles of the Quakers, Anabaptists, and other sectaries ; it was also the occasion of the formation of the regiments of guards already noticed.

The king's coronation having been celebrated with great splendour (Apr. 23),* the new parliament met (May 8). As was to be expected, it was most decidedly royalist, the presbyterians not having more than sixty seats. Its temper soon appeared, by votes for obliging all the members to receive the sacrament according to the rites of the church

* Hyde was on this occasion created earl of Clarendon, and Arthur lord Capel (son of him who had been executed in 1649) earl of Essex.

of England, and for having the solemn league and covenant burnt by the common hangman. It was declared that the negative and the command of the army were rights inherent in the crown ; and it was made treason to injure the king's person, or to distinguish between his person and his office. It required all the efforts of the king and Clarendon to have the bill of indemnity passed without further exceptions. A bill passed the commons for the immediate execution of the remaining regicides ; but the lords, more humane or more honourable, rejected it, the king himself expressing his aversion to it*. The act depriving the bishops of their seats in parliament, which had been so violently extorted from the late king, was repealed, and the prelates were restored to their legislative functions. As a chief weapon in those times had been tumultuary bodies of petitioners, an act was passed that not more than ten persons should present any petition to the king or either house, nor should it be signed by more than twenty, unless with the order of three justices, or the major part of a grand jury.

While the parliament was thus replacing the constitution on its ancient basis, a conference was going on at the bishop of London's lodgings, at the Savoy, between twelve prelates and nine assistants, and an equal number of presbyterian divines. The ostensible object was a revision of the Book of Common Prayer. It ended, of course, as all such conferences do. The bishops were predetermined to admit of none but very slight modifications, and to retain all the ceremonies. The presbyterians, under the circumstances, required by far too much ; yet surely the prelates might have conceded something to men at least as pious and as learned as themselves, and but for whom they would be probably still without their sees. If it was puerile on the one side to object so vehemently to the cross, ring,

* " I am weary of hanging," said he to Clarendon, " except for new offences. Let the bill settle in the houses, that it may not come to me, for you know that I cannot pardon them."

and surplice, it was surely no proof of wisdom on the other to insist on them as if they were of the very essence of religion. So little were the prelates disposed to concession, that even the innovations of Laud were retained, and they remain to this day part of the service of the church of England. They are all now become innocuous; no one, for example, sees in the surplice anything more than a decent habit; the ring is used without any scruple, or, in general, any knowledge of its meaning; we kneel at the communion without any apprehension of the real presence: it was not so, however, in those times; and we think that the chief blame lies with those who would not concede.

The strength of the presbyterian party lay in the corporations, and in these, their strongholds, the church-party proceeded to attack them. By the Corporation-act now passed it was enacted, that any person holding office in a corporation might be removed, unless he would renounce the solemn league and covenant, and declare his belief of the unlawfulness of taking up arms against the king, etc.; and no future officer to be admitted unless he had previously taken the sacrament according to the rites of the church of England. Thus commenced that odious profanation of the most solemn act of religion so long a national disgrace.

The revision of the Common Prayer was finally (Nov. 20) committed to the convocation. They made a number of alterations and additions; none, however, favourable to the presbyterians*. The amended book was presented to the king and council, and by them recommended to the house of lords.

Vane and Lambert still lay in prison. As they had had no immediate hand in the death of the late king, the con-

* Will it be believed that they actually increased the number of the Saints' days, and added the silly legend of Bel and the Dragon, and other parts of the Apocrypha, to the lessons? They surely meant to insult, not to conciliate. Some of the state-prayers were introduced into the liturgy at this time, so also was that finest of addresses to the Deity, the General Thanksgiving.

vention had addressed the king in their behalf, and he had assured them that, if attainted, they should not be executed. They were now brought to trial, at the suit of the commons. Lambert (June 9, 1662), who had never been an enthusiast, or even perhaps a republican, acted with great caution. He excused his opposing Booth and Monk by saying that he knew not that they were acting for the king, and he threw himself on the royal mercy. He was sentenced to die, but he was only confined for life in the isle of Guernsey. He lived there for thirty years, forgotten by the world, occupying his time in the cultivation of flowers, and in the practice of the art of painting. It is said that he became a catholic.

Very different was the conduct of the upright, fervid enthusiast and republican Vane (June 6). Far from suing for mercy, he asserted that "the decision by the sword was given [against the late king] by that God who, being the judge of the whole earth, does right, and cannot do otherwise;" and the parliament then became the government *de facto*, and, consequently, he was entitled to the benefit of the statute 11 Henry VII., for acting in obedience to it. The spirit of the law, if not the letter, was decidedly in his favour, and the judges could only get over the difficulty by the monstrous assertion, that Charles had been king *de facto* from the death of his father, though "kept out of the exercise of his royal authority by rebels and traitors." The prisoner's defence was most eloquent and able, but it had been determined not to let him escape*. Sentence of death was passed on him, the judges

* The king wrote to Clarendon on the 7th as follows: "The relation that has been made to me of sir H. Vane's carriage yesterday in the hall is the occasion of this letter, which if I am rightly informed was so insolent as to justify all he had done, acknowledging no supreme power in England but a parliament, and many things to that purpose. You have had a true account of all, and if he has given new occasion to be hanged, certainly he is too dangerous a man to let live if we can honestly put him out of the way. Think of this, and give me some account of it tomorrow; till when I have no more to say to you. C." See Onslow's note on Burnet, i. 296. It has been observed

refusing to sign a bill of exceptions, which he presented. He was beheaded on Tower-hill (14th). His demeanour was such as was to be expected from his known character*. When he attempted to address the people in vindication of himself and the cause for which he suffered, his note-books were snatched from him, and the trumpeters were ordered to blow in his face. "It is a bad cause," said he, "which cannot bear the words of a dying man." One stroke terminated his mortal existence.

The character of sir Henry Vane stands forth pre-eminent for purity among the republican chiefs. He was disinterested and incorrupt; willing to give to all others the liberty he claimed for himself; the enemy of oppression in all its forms. It is difficult to regard his death as any thing but a judicial murder, yet surely there was in it something of retribution. Though taking no immediate share in the judicial proceedings against the late king, he had mainly contributed to his death by his conduct at the treaty of Newport, and his speech in the house on his return. By the dishonourable manner in which he furnished evidence against Strafford (whose sentence was little, if at all, less iniquitous than his own), he was a main cause of the civil war, and of all the bloodshed and misery which thence ensued. On the same spot on which Strafford fell one-and-twenty years before, Vane now underwent a similar fate. As the series of blood began with the one, it ended with the other. As Charles I. forfeited his word and honour in the one case, so Charles II. forfeited *his* in the other.

Having thus far carried on the affairs of England, it is now time that we should notice those of Scotland and Ireland.

As Scotland had not been mentioned in the declaration that Clarendon in his *Life* is silent on the subject of Vane, which looks as if he did not quite approve of the transaction.

* He cohabited with his wife the night before his execution, in order that the legitimacy of the child of which she was then pregnant might not be questioned. See the note in Burnet, i. 295.

from Breda, the cavaliers of that country breathed nothing but blood and forfeitures. The spirit of it, however, certainly did apply to Scotland, and the earl of Lauderdale, who was now high in the royal favour, by representing all that the Scots had done and suffered in the cause of the king, disposed him to clemency. The marquess of Argyle, relying on an ambiguous answer of the king, through his son lord Lorn, came secretly up to London, but he was immediately sent to the Tower.

The union which the commonwealth had laboured to effect was no longer thought of. The earl of Middleton was appointed commissioner for holding the parliament, Glencairn chancellor, and Lauderdale secretary. The fortresses built by Cromwell were demolished, and the garrisons disbanded. As the king had been thoroughly disgusted with presbytery, and he and his chief counsellors regarded it as incompatible with monarchy, the restoration of episcopacy was resolved on. The utmost efforts having been made to pack a parliament, that assembly, when it met (Jan. 1, 1661), proved to be suited to all the purposes of the court. It was known by the name of 'The Drunken Parliament,' on account of the continued inebriety of Middleton and his associates. Its first proceeding was to restore the prerogative in its fullest extent. In this there was little difficulty, but to change the church-government was not so easy, as it had been confirmed by two parliaments held by the present king and his father. In one of Middleton's drunken bouts, it was resolved to adopt a measure which Primrose the clerk-register had proposed half in jest, which was, a general act *rescissory*, annulling on various pretexts all the parliaments held since the year 1633. This, though vigorously opposed by the old covenanters, was carried by a large majority, and the presbyterian discipline was left at the mercy of the crown.

Those who hungered after the large possessions of Argyle now hastened to shed his blood. He was transmitted to Scotland to be tried on charges of oppression

and treason. Every national act from the beginning of the wars was laid to his charge (Feb. 13). His defence was acute, and, in general, successful. As he pleaded the indemnity granted in the parliament of Stirling in 1650, the king, at the entreaty of lord Lorn, granted a mandate, that nothing done previous to that time should be prosecuted, and that no sentence should be passed till the whole had been submitted to himself. This secured Argyle as far as related to the death of the late king; there only remained the charge of compliance with the usurpation, and here, we are assured*, the base treachery of Monk came to the aid of his enemies. He transmitted to the parliament some private letters in which Argyle expressed his attachment to the protector's government: his friends were silenced, and sentence was pronounced (May 25). He vainly implored a respite of ten days that the pleasure of the king might be known, but Middleton, who hoped to get his title and estates, was inexorable. Argyle met his fate with piety and fortitude (27th).

The next who suffered was Guthrey, one of the clergy who had promoted the western remonstrance. As he had once excommunicated Middleton, he had little chance of mercy. He too died (June 1) full of hope and constancy. Swinton, another of the proscribed list, had become a quaker; he acknowledged his fault with so much contrition that his life was spared, though his estate was taken. Wariston, who had escaped to the continent, was delivered up two years after by the French government, and he too ended his days on a scaffold.

The soil being thus watered with the blood of the covenanters Argyle and Guthrey, it was resolved to replant episcopacy. Against this Lauderdale strongly remonstrated, and the king himself was long dubious of the policy of it; but the bigotry of Clarendon would yield to no suggestions of prudence, and the measure was resolved

* See Burnet. The fact however is very doubtful, we might perhaps say is untrue.

on. As there was only one Scottish bishop now living, it was necessary that some of the new prelates should be consecrated in England. Sharp, who had been the agent of the presbyterians at London and Breda, and who, in the hope of preferment, had basely betrayed their cause, was made archbishop of St. Andrew's, the excellent Leighton (son to Laud's victim) and two others were consecrated with him by Sheldon bishop of London, and these consecrated the remaining prelates in Scotland. An act of indemnity was finally passed, but harsh and cruel, like every Scottish measure, it seemed framed only with a view to plunder.

Unhappy Ireland was also to be regulated anew. No blood was here to be shed, and the church, as a matter of course, resumed its former position; but the adjustment of property was a matter of tremendous difficulty. The tide of conquest had swept over the country, effacing all limits and landmarks. The greater part of the lands were now in the possession of the adventurers who had advanced their money on the faith of acts of parliament passed with the assent of the late king, and of the soldiers of Cromwell's army; but there were numerous other claimants, such as the Forty-nine men, or those who had served in the royal army previous to the year 1649, the protestant loyalists whose estates had been confiscated, the innocent catholics, those who had served under the king in Flanders, etc.

The king issued a Declaration (Nov. 30, 1660) for the settlement of Ireland; but the Irish houses of parliament disagreeing with respect to it, they sent their deputies over to the king, and the catholics at the same time despatched agents on their part. Charles was, for obvious reasons, disposed to favour these last, but, like true Irishmen, they seemed resolved that it should not be in his power. With the indiscretion and disregard to truth distinctive of their party in Ireland, they behaved with insolence, justified their rebellion, denied their massacres, and finally so disgusted the king with their conduct, that he ordered the doors of the council to be closed against them. The heads of a bill

were then prepared and sent over to Dublin in May 1662, but it was three years before the final settlement was effected. The soldiers and adventurers agreed to give up a third of their lands, to augment what was called 'The Fund of Reprisals,' or property still remaining at the disposal of the crown, and which had been shamefully diminished by lavish grants to the dukes of York, Ormond, Albemarle, and others. Out of this the Forty-nine men were paid their arrears, fifty-four catholics were restored to their houses, and two thousand acres of land; but there remained three thousand who had put in claims of innocence for whom no relief was provided. There can be little doubt that only a portion of these were really innocent, but they should not have been thus condemned unheard. Previous to the rebellion, it is said the catholics had possessed two-thirds of the lands of Ireland; there now remained to them not more than one-third*. Dearly did they pay for the massacre of the protestants in the outset, committed by a savage rabble, set on by an ignorant and fanatic priesthood. It has been asserted, but the fact is incredible, that a third part of the population perished by the sword, famine, and disease, between 1641 and 1652†.

We now return to England, where the marriage of the king engaged the attention of his council. Charles was a notorious profligate with respect to women. While in France he had a son by a Mrs. Barlow or Walters, and immediately on his coming to England, Barbara Villiers, daughter of lord Grandison, and wife to a catholic gentleman named Palmer, a woman of great beauty, but utterly devoid of virtue or principle, having thrown herself in his way, made a conquest of his heart, over which she long retained her empire, though only one sultana out of many.

* Sir W. Petty, quoted by Hallam (iii. 528); Lingard (xi. 243) says that only a sixth remained to the catholics. This statement appears to us to be much nearer the truth.

† See Appendix (F).

The scandal which the king gave by his amours, caused his ministers to urge him to marry; but he resolved not to espouse a protestant, and his subjects he thought would object to a catholic. At the suggestion of the French king, however, the Portuguese ambassador offered him the infanta Catherine, sister to the king of Portugal, with a dower of 500,000*l.*, the settlements of Tangier in Africa, and Bombay in the East Indies, and a free trade to Portugal and her colonies.

The money tempted the king; Clarendon and the other ministers approved of the match, but the Spanish ambassador now laboured to obstruct it. He represented that the infanta was incapable of bearing children; that it might cause a war with Spain, and the loss of the Spanish trade; and he offered, on the part of his master, a large portion with either of the princesses of Parma. Charles sent lord Bristol secretly to Italy, where he saw the princesses as they were going to church. One glance sufficed; the one was hideously ugly, the other monstrously fat. Meantime Louis sent to urge the Portuguese match, offering Charles money to purchase votes in the parliament, promising to lend him 50,000*l.* whenever he should want it, and to aid him with money in case of a war with Spain. The Spaniard, on the other hand, proposed to the king different protestant princesses, whom his master would portion equal to daughters of Spain. He also laboured to excite the protestant feelings of the parliament and city, but to no purpose. The Portuguese match was approved of by the council and both houses, and (June 1661) the earl of Sandwich was sent out with a fleet to convey the infanta, when ready, to England.

The prospect of her lover's marriage made Mrs. Palmer very uneasy. To reconcile her he made her costly presents, and created her husband earl of Castlemain in Ireland, with remainder to the issue male of his wife, who had just borne to her royal keeper a son at Hampton-court; and

finally, lost to all sense of honour and delicacy, Charles pledged himself to make her lady of the bed-chamber to his queen.

On the 20th of May, 1662, the fleet which bore the infant reached Spithead. Charles, quitting the embraces of the wanton Castlemain, hastened to Portsmouth to receive his bride. They were married privately, according to the rites of the church of Rome, by the lord Aubigny, the queen's almoner. They then came forth and sat on chairs in the room where the company was assembled, and Sheldon bishop of London pronounced them man and wife. They thence proceeded to Hampton-court, where after some days Charles, taking 'The Lady,' as Castlemain was called, by the hand, presented her to the queen before the entire court. Catherine had so much command of herself as to give her a gracious reception, but in a few minutes her eyes filled with tears, blood gushed from her nose, and she fell into a fit. Charles now affected the tone of a man of honour; he had been, he said, the cause of Castlemain's disgrace, and he was bound to make her reparation, and he would not submit to the whims of his wife. Clarendon and Ormond remonstrated, but were harshly reprov'd, and even required to lend their aid in the royal project; and who will not blush for Clarendon, when he reads that he actually did undertake the odious office? But Catherine would not listen to him. To break her spirit, Charles then sent away her Portuguese attendants, and the presence of Castlemain was continually obtruded on her. The queen long bore up against these studied insults; at length she most imprudently resolved to yield, and she humbled herself so far as to admit that abandoned adulteress to her familiarity and friendship.

The queen's portion was soon spent, and to raise money for the royal expenses, Clarendon, it is said, proposed the sale of Dunkirk to the French king: Louis was eager to treat. Clarendon demanded twelve millions of livres, he was offered two, and the bargain was finally concluded for

five (Sept. 11). But Charles wanted all the money, and Louis would only pay two millions down, and the remainder in two years. The treaty was nearly broken off, when it was suggested that Louis should give bills for the balance. This was agreed to (Oct. 17), and a French banker came over and discounted them. The banker was an agent of Louis, who boasts that he made 500,000 livres on the transaction*. Dunkirk was certainly of no direct use to England, but the possession of it gratified the national pride, and the people felt mortified at seeing it sold, and the price squandered away on the king's vices and pleasures.

But the sale of Dunkirk was a trifle to the cruel Act of Uniformity, which now came into operation. It had been urged on by the united bigotry of the clergy, of Clarendon, and of the house of commons; the lords in vain attempted to mitigate its severity; the commons were inexorable. It provided that every minister should, before the feast of St. Bartholomew (Aug. 24), publicly declare his assent and consent to everything contained in the book of Common Prayer, or lose his benefice. The appointed day came, and about two thousand ministers, the far greater part of them men of extensive learning, sincere piety, and irreproachable life, laid down their preferments, and rather than do violence to their conscience, faced poverty and persecution. It may be said, that the episcopal clergy had done as much in the late times, but those were times of civil war, and politics were so interwoven with religion, that it was difficult to separate them, and they had the prospect of ample reward in case of the king's success. But now all was peace; the king had been restored in a great measure through the exertions of these very men; there was no longer a political contest; conscience alone could have actuated them. Henry VIII. assigned pensions to the ejected monks and friars; Elizabeth had reserved a

* Œuvres de Louis XIV. i. 167.

fifth of the income of the benefices for those who scrupled to comply with her act of uniformity; the Long Parliament had done the same; but now no provision whatever was made, nay, care was taken that those who did not conform should lose the last year's income of their livings, as their tithes would not fall due till Michaelmas.

Petitions claiming the benefit of the declaration from Breda being presented to the king, he took the occasion or setting forth a declaration, promising to exert his influence with parliament in its next session to have his dispensing power so regulated as to enable him to exercise it with more universal satisfaction. His secret object was to procure toleration for the catholics; but on this head the commons were lynx-eyed; the protestantism of the royal brothers was strongly suspected, and the Romish priests, with their characteristic insolence and imprudence, in reliance on the court-favour, gave public offence by appearing in their habits. The commons therefore (Feb. 1663) rejected the whole scheme of indulgence, and brought in bills to prevent the growth of popery.

Rumours of conspiracies were now spread in order to cast odium on the ejected clergy, and a slight insurrection which did take place this summer in Yorkshire was taken advantage of to pass in the following session (May 16, 1664) the merciless Conventicle-act. By this any person above the age of sixteen, who was present at any religious meeting not held according to the practice of the church or England, where there were five or more persons beside the household, was to be imprisoned three months for the first offence, six for the second, and be transported seven years for the third, on conviction before a single justice of the peace. This cruel statute speedily filled the prisons, especially with the quakers.

The repeal of the Triennial-act of 1641 was effected in this session. The king had the audacity to declare that he would never suffer a parliament to come together by the means prescribed in it; and to please him, a bill was

brought in to repeal it, and passed, with a provision, however, that parliaments should not be intermitted for more than three years at the most.

Another measure of this session was an address to the king, praying him to seek redress of the injuries inflicted by the Dutch on the English trade, and promising to stand by him with their lives and fortunes.

The Dutch were more devoted to commerce than any people in Europe; and as the spirit of trade is jealous and monopolising, they had been guilty of many unjustifiable actions in their foreign settlements, such, for instance, as the massacre of the English at Amboyna in the reign of James I. These however were all past and gone; treaties had been since made with them, in which these deeds had been unnoticed, even so late as the year 1662. Charles himself, though he had a great dislike to the aristocratic or Louvestein party, as it was named, which now ruled in the States, and which had deprived the prince of Orange of the dignity of Stadtholder, was little inclined to a war, and Clarendon and Southampton were decidedly adverse to it; but the duke of York, who was lord-admiral, was anxious to distinguish himself at the head of the navy, which his exertions had brought to a state of great perfection; he was also a diligent fosterer of trade, which he justly regarded as a main pillar of the national greatness. He therefore lent his powerful aid to the party desirous of war, and Downing, the resident at the Hague, a man of little principle, spared no labour to widen the breach between the two countries.

The duke of York was at the head of an African company for the purchase of gold-dust and for supplying the West-Indies with slaves. The Dutch, who had long traded to Africa, thwarted them as much as possible, and even seized or demolished their factories. The duke had already sent out sir Robert Holmes, in the name of the company, with some ships of war to the coast of Africa, and Holmes had recovered the castle of cape Corse and taken that of

cape Verd, and established factories along the coast. The duke had also sent out sir Richard Nicholas to North America, where the Dutch had settled on the tract of country between New England and Maryland, and named it New Amsterdam. The English claimed this by right of discovery, and the king had made a grant of it to his brother. The Dutch settlers offered no resistance, and Nicholas named the country New York, and a fort up the river Albany, from the titles of his patron.

When intelligence came of what Holmes had done, the Dutch ambassador remonstrated in strong terms. But the king denied all concern in the matter, said that Holmes had been sent out by the company on their own authority, and promised to bring him to trial on his return. Holmes accordingly was sent to the Tower; but his explanations were considered satisfactory, and he was soon released. De Witt was resolved to be avenged. A combined Dutch and English fleet, under De Ruyter and Lawson, was now in the Mediterranean acting against the piratic cruisers, and he sent secret orders to the former to proceed to the coast of Africa and retaliate on the English. Lawson, though aware of De Ruyter's object, did not feel himself authorised by his instructions to follow him; but he sent to inform the duke of his suspicions. The Dutch admiral having accomplished his mission on the African coast crossed over to the West Indies, where he captured about twenty sail of merchantmen. The duke meantime had two fleets out in the narrow seas, which seized and detained one hundred and thirty Dutch traders.

The war being now resolved on, the king called on parliament for the requisite supplies (Nov. 25). Their liberality was unprecedented; they voted two millions and a half. In the bill for this purpose, two remarkable deviations from ancient usage were effected; the old method of raising money by subsidies, tenths, and fifteenths, which had been returned to, was abandoned for ever, and the mode of assessments introduced in the civil war was

adopted in its stead ; the clergy, who used to tax themselves in convocation, now consented to be taxed in the same manner as the laity by parliament ; and in return they obtained the right of voting at elections. This measure put a total end to the influence and importance of the convocation ; it became from that moment a mere shadow. It is remarkable, that this great change in the constitution was the effect of a mere verbal agreement between the chancellor and the primate.

On the 21st of April, 1665, the duke of York put to sea with a gallant fleet of ninety-eight ships of war and four fire-ships. This prince had made wonderful improvements in the navy. Instead of committing the command of ships to noblemen of inexperienced valour, he placed them under Lawson and men who had long been familiar with the sea. He continued the practice of dividing the fleet into three squadrons ; but he required it to form into line before action, and each captain to keep his place during the engagement ; thus substituting the regularity of the land-battle for the previous irregular mode of fighting used at sea. The duke himself, with Lawson for his vice-admiral, commanded the red, prince Rupert the white, the earl of Sandwich the blue squadron.

For more than a month this fleet rode in triumph off the coast of Holland. At length, an easterly wind having blown it to its own coast, the Dutch fleet of one hundred and thirteen ships of war, commanded by admiral Opdam, came out in seven squadrons. The fleets encountered (June 3) off the coast of Suffolk. The sea was calm, the sky cloudless ; for four hours the fight was dubious ; the duke displayed the greatest conduct and valour ; one shot killed at his side his favourite the earl of Falmouth, the lord Muskerrey, and a son of lord Burlington's, and covered him with their blood. At length, observing great confusion on board of admiral Opdam's ship, he ordered all his guns to be fired into her successively, and she blew up, and Opdam and five hundred men perished in her. Dispirited

by the loss of their admiral, the Dutch fled; the English pursued, but during the night, while the duke was taking some repose, Mr. Brounker, groom of his bed-chamber, came to the master with pretended orders from the duke to shorten sail, and thus in the morning the Dutch got into the Texel. This was the greatest naval victory gained as yet by the English; the Dutch lost eighteen ships, they had four admirals killed, and seven thousand men slain or taken. The loss of the English was one ship and six hundred men; but among the slain were the admirals Lawson and Sampson, and the earls of Marlborough and Portland.

In other days the tidings of such a victory would have spread joy and festivity through all the streets of London; but now a gloom, not to be dispelled by the triumphs of war, sat brooding over the capital: the plague had visited it in its most appalling form.

In the midst of the late winter, a few cases of plague had occurred in the suburbs. The number slowly increased as the season advanced, and in the end of May the disease burst with fury forth from the filthy suburb of St. Giles's on the city and Westminster. The court, the nobility, the gentry, and the more opulent citizens fled to the country; thousands were about to follow, but the lord mayor refused certificates of health, and the people of the adjoining towns took up arms to ward off infection. As usual, its first ravages were among the lower classes, but it soon advanced higher. Various regulations were made (July 1); the city was divided into districts, with proper officers; every house in which the disease prevailed, was marked in the usual manner by a red cross on the door, with the words "Lord have mercy upon us!" over it*; pest-carts

* Shakspeare thus alludes to this practice (*Love's Labour's Lost*, act v. sc. 2.):

Write "Lord have mercy on us!" on these three;
They are infected; in their hearts it lies;
They have the plague, and caught it of your eyes.

went round every night with links and the tinkling of a bell, summoning the people to bring forth their dead, which then, uncoffined and without any religious rite, were shot into a common pit prepared in the nearest churchyard. The men employed in this mournful office, taken from the dregs of the people and hardened in vice and brutality, committed deeds too horrible to be told. That unfeeling race too, the hired nurses, often, it is said, murdered the patients in order to rob them.

As in all similar cases, different minds were variously affected. While some devoted themselves to exercises of piety and awaited their doom with calm resignation, others recklessly plunged into riot and debauch; and the awful silence which ordinarily prevailed was from time to time broken by the sound of the unhallowed orgies of the brothel and the tavern. Superstition exerted its influence over others; many fancied they saw a flaming sword in the sky hanging over the devoted city; others assembled in the churchyards, where in imagination they beheld ghosts stalking round the pits which contained their bodies. Fanaticism too was active; one prophet walked naked through the streets, with a pan of burning coals on his head, denouncing woes on the sinful city; a second Jonah went proclaiming aloud, "Yet forty days, and London shall be destroyed;" a third might be heard by day and by night crying in sepulchral tones, "Oh, the great and dreadful God!"

July and August were months of oppressive heat. Though September was less sultry, the deaths increased. The experiment was tried of burning large fires in the streets. On the third night (8th) they were extinguished by a copious fall of rain, and the deaths now diminished; but the next week the tempest of disease was more furious than ever, and men began to despair. The equinoctial gales at length brought healing on their wings. The mortality rapidly decreased; and in the beginning of December seventy-three parishes were pronounced free of

disease, and their inhabitants resumed their ordinary pursuits and avocations. The number of deaths in London had exceeded one hundred thousand; the disease spread also over the rest of the kingdom, and its ravages in various places were in proportion to the density of the population*.

During this desolation, the fleet, which was uninfected, kept the sea; and the Dutch Smyrna and East-Indian fleets having taken shelter in the port of Bergen, in Norway, lord Sandwich sailed thither. For a share of the spoil, it is said, the Danish court agreed to connive at the capture of the Dutch vessels. Owing, however, to some mismanagement, when the English ships entered the port and attacked the Dutch, they were fired on by the guns of the fort, and obliged to retire. De Witt now came with a strong fleet to convoy the merchantmen home, but they were dispersed by a storm (Sept. 4), and Sandwich captured some ships of war and two of the Indiamen. As he plundered these last, and allowed his captains to do the same, he was deprived of his command, and sent ambassador to Spain, as a cover to his disgrace.

The overthrow of the government in England by means of the discontented presbyterians and republicans was one part of De Witt's plans, and he entered into correspondence with Ludlow, Sidney, and the other exiles, for this purpose. Lord Say and some others formed a council at the Hague, and corresponded with their friends in England. An insignificant plot was discovered in London, during the height of the plague; and when the parliament met the following month, at Oxford, to grant supplies, an act was passed for attainting all British subjects who should continue in the service of the States.

In this session, also, was passed the severe Five-mile-act. During the plague, though many of the episcopal clergy had remained and faced all perils in the discharge

* The most vivid, we might add faithful account, of this pestilence will be found in Defoe's fictitious History of the Plague.

of their duty, many had left their charges and sought safety in the country. The Non-conformists, as the ejected clergy were now named, mounted the empty pulpits, and preached to the despairing people. Their sermons were in general such as were suited to the season, but some of them could not refrain from dwelling on the sins of the court, and displaying the iniquity of their own expulsion. They had broken the law no doubt, but surely the awful calamity then prevailing abundantly justified them. Sheldon, now primate, Clarendon, and their other enemies, however, took advantage of it, and, under the pretext of their having preached sedition, a bill was passed (Oct. 30) requiring every person in holy orders, who had not subscribed the Act of Uniformity, to swear that it is not lawful, on any pretence whatever, to take arms against the king, etc. Those who should refuse this oath were to be incapable of teaching in schools, and were not, unless when travelling, to come within five miles of any city, town, or village, in which they had at any time exercised their ministry. This act of cold-blooded cruelty met with little opposition in the commons (who even wished to impose this oath on the whole nation), but Southampton and others resisted it strongly, though ineffectually, in the peers. It nearly amounted to a bill of starvation; for, as far as in it lay, it cut off all who would not profess the doctrine of passive obedience from almost every means of obtaining a livelihood.

The king of France, being bound by a treaty of alliance with the Dutch, was now required by them to share in the war. A French fleet being expected to join that of the Dutch, the English fleet, under the duke of Albemarle and prince Rupert, put to sea. Rupert went, with twenty ships, in search of the French, who were said to be at Belleisle; while Albemarle, with fifty-four, proceeded to the Gun-fleet. To his surprise, he saw (June 1, 1666) the Dutch fleet, of eighty sail, under De Ruyter and De Witt, lying off the North Foreland. Unequal as the numbers

were, he resolved to fight, and bore down without any order. Most of the ships of the blue squadron, which led the van, were taken or disabled. Night ended the combat. Next morning (2nd) it was renewed. Sixteen fresh ships joined the Dutch, but the English again fought till night. Albemarle then burned a part of his disabled ships, and ordered the others to make for the nearest harbours. In the morning he had only sixteen ships to oppose to the enemy's pursuit. He had lost the *Prince Royal*, the finest ship in the navy, on the Galloper Sand, and the others were likely to share its fate, when Rupert, who had been recalled on the first day of the battle, at length came to his aid. The engagement was renewed the following morning (4th), but the hostile fleets were separated by a fog. Victory was with the Dutch, yet the English lost no honour. "They may be killed," said De Witt, "but they will not be conquered." The obstinacy and temerity of Albemarle were justly censured.

The hostile fleets were soon again at sea, and an action was fought (25th), in which the advantage was on the side of the English, who now rode in triumph off the shores of Holland. Holmes, with a squadron of boats and fire-ships (Aug. 8), entered the channel, where the Baltic traders lay, and burned one hundred and fifty of them, two men of war, and the adjoining town of Brandaris. De Witt, maddened at the sight, swore by Almighty God that he would never sheath the sword till he had had revenge. He called on his French ally for prompt aid. Louis, who was exciting the discontented Irish catholics to insurrection, and who had lately offered Algernon Sidney 20,000*l.* in aid of his project of raising the commonwealth-party in England, would rather not put his fleet to hazard. He, however, ordered the duke de Beaufort, who was now at Rochelle, to advance and join De Ruyter. This admiral had already passed the strait of Dover, when prince Rupert came in view. As De Ruyter himself was unwell and his men were little inclined to fight, he took shelter

near Boulogne, and Rupert then sailed to engage Beaufort, who was coming up channel, but a violent wind forced him to take shelter at St. Helen's (Sept. 3), and Beaufort got into Dieppe.

The wind that blew the fleet to St. Helen's was a fatal wind to England. On the night of Sunday the 2nd a fire broke out in a bakehouse, near Fish-street, in the city of London. The houses in that quarter being of wood, with pitched roofs, the flames spread rapidly; the pipes from the New River proved to be empty; the engine on the Thames was burnt; the wind increased every hour in vehemence, and the flames bounded along even to distant houses. The obvious remedy of cutting off the progress of the fire by the demolition of houses was prevented by the avarice of their owners, and the flames spread unimpeded on all sides. The spectacle in the night (3rd) was magnificent, though awful. For ten miles round it was light as day. A column of fire, a mile in diameter, mounted into the sky, the flames bent and twisted by the fury of the wind. The heat was oppressive. Evermore the sound of the fall of houses or churches struck the listening ear. Groups of people were to be seen flying in all directions, with the little portions of their property which they had been able to save.

For once during his reign the conduct of the king was praiseworthy. He displayed the utmost energy; he was present in all places of danger, animating and rewarding the workmen; he had provisions brought from the royal stores for the relief of the houseless wanderers; he employed every precaution to prevent robbery and violence. In all his exertions he was cordially aided by his brother.

On Wednesday evening (5th) the wind abated. By blowing up houses with gunpowder, the progress of the fire to the Temple and the Tower was checked, and the flames were gradually spent for want of fuel. Two-thirds of the city, containing thirteen thousand houses and eighty-nine churches, were in ashes; and two hundred thousand

people were lying in huts, or in the open air, in the fields between Islington and Highgate. The immediate distress and suffering was considerable, and thousands were ruined; but London soon rose from its ashes, better and more regularly built; the streets were wider, the houses of brick instead of wood, and it hence became more healthy, and less subject to the plague.

It is not to be supposed that the real simple cause would be assigned for this calamity. Incendiaries, it was averred, were seen firing the city in various parts. Some laid it on the French, some on the republicans, but it was finally fixed on the general scape-goat, the papists; and the beautiful column raised by authority on the spot where the fire commenced, long, 'like a tall bully, lifted its head and lied,' in the inscription which it bore.

The parliament was liberal in its grant for continuing the war, but, owing to the great losses and derangements caused by the fire, the bankers could not make advances as they had usually done. The king was therefore induced to lay up the larger ships, and only to keep at sea two light squadrons of frigates. There was, indeed, every prospect of a speedy peace, for Louis, who claimed Flanders in right of his wife, wished, ere he engaged in a conflict with Spain, to be at peace with England; and four out of the seven United Provinces were induced by him to declare for peace. De Witt was therefore obliged to yield (May 14, 1667), and ambassadors met at Breda to discuss the terms. When an armistice was proposed, the Dutch objected, on account of the delay it would cause; and, while it was under debate, De Witt and De Ruyter left the Texel, ordering the fleet, of seventy sail, to rendezvous at the buoy off the Nore. When the ships arrived, the Dutch admirals entered the Thames in two divisions (June 9), and while one sailed up to Gravesend, the other prepared to enter the Medway. The duke of Albemarle, at the first alarm, had hastened down, and erected batteries and placed guard-ships for the defence of the boom at the mouth of that

river, and sunk five ships in the channel before it. While he was thus engaged, the Dutch came on with wind and tide (11th), but the sunken ships impeded them so much, that they were obliged to fall back. Next morning having discovered a new channel, they came up, silenced the batteries, broke the boom, and burned the guard-ships. The following morning (13th) they advanced to Upnor, and having there burnt three first-rates, fell down the river with the ebb, and returned to the Nore. For six weeks De Ruyter continued to insult the English coast.

Meantime the progress of the French arms in Flanders alarmed the Dutch, and they hastened to terminate the war with England. Each party yielded something, and peace was concluded (July 21).

The influence of lord Clarendon had long been on the decline. He had made himself enemies in all classes, some by his faults, others by his virtues. The cavaliers hated him for his honourable adherence to the act of indemnity; the non-conformists for his intolerance; the catholics for his zealous protestantism; the courtiers for his opposition to their rapacity; above all, Castlemain hated him because he would not allow his wife to visit her. His high notions of prerogative disgusted the friends of liberty; his haughtiness and dictatorial manner offended the two houses. The king himself grew weary of his lectures and his opposition to his will. He found that he had too great a regard for the religion and liberties of the country to abet his projects for the overthrow of both, and he was therefore secretly desirous to get rid of him.

An attack had been already made on the chancellor. In 1663, the clever, but impetuous and unsteady, earl of Bristol (the lord Digby of the preceding pages), who was now become a catholic, had impeached him in the house of lords, but the charges were so frivolous that they were at once rejected, and a warrant being issued to take the accuser into custody, on account of his insolence to the king, he was obliged to conceal himself for some time. Bristol's

plan, however, only failed because the enemies of Clarendon were not yet sufficiently strong; but when the Dutch had burnt the ships in the Medway, and the nation was irritated against the obnoxious minister, and the king had become quite alienated from him, it was thought that the attack might be repeated with success. Charles was prevailed on to send his son-in-law, the duke of York, to him, to induce him to resign the seal. In a personal conference with the king (Aug. 26), Clarendon refused, as that, he said, would be a confession of guilt. A few days after (30th), he was ordered to surrender it, and it was transferred to sir Orlando Bridgeman. In the next session the commons (Nov. 6) exhibited seventeen articles of impeachment against the earl: but the bishops stood firmly by their friend; the duke of York faithfully adhered to his father-in-law; several of the peers regarded the charges as false, or the course adopted by the commons as unconstitutional. The motion for committing him, therefore, was lost; conferences of the houses ensued; the king, in perplexity, expressed his desire that the accused would secretly retire to the continent; but this Clarendon was too proud, or too conscious of innocence, to do. At length (29th) the duke of York was the bearer to him of a positive command to quit the kingdom. To this he yielded a reluctant obedience; and having left a written vindication of himself, he retired to France. The commons (Dec. 9) voted this paper a libel, and ordered it to be burnt by the hangman. An act of banishment followed, subjecting him to the penalties of treason if he should return. He fixed his residence for some time at Montpellier, and he died at Rouen, in Normandy, in 1674.

Edward earl of Clarendon occupies a prominent station in our history both as a minister and as a writer. In the former character he was, viewing the times, honest; for though he would sell the favours of the crown*, as was the

* His own partial friend Evelyn said of him, that he "never did nor would do any thing but for money." Lord Dover, in his acute work on this subject,

usual practice, he was careful that his venality should not injure it. His notions of government were narrow and illiberal; he regarded the reigns of Elizabeth and James as the most perfect state of the constitution, and seemed not to be aware that in politics all is progression. He therefore required that parliament should be humbly submissive to the crown, yet he would not have the crown independent of it. He was a bigot in religion, and haughty, overbearing and pompous in manner. In private life he was strictly correct. His fall reflects disgrace on the worthless prince who abandoned him to the profligate band of courtiers who sought his ruin.

As a historian Clarendon is distinguished by his skill in the delineation of characters and by the air of dignity which pervades his narrative, though his style is involved and diffuse. His work is rather the apology for one party (as is indicated by the very title) than an impartial history: it everywhere exhibits the political feelings of the writer. Its worst fault is the disregard of truth, as we may perhaps best term it; for it appears in places where the author had no interest in disguising or misrepresenting the real facts. With all its faults it is however a noble performance, and is justly regarded as one of the classics of our language.

has collected from Pepys and others indubitable proofs of Clarendon's avarice and venality. Even Mr. D'Israeli seems to have no doubts on this subject.

CHAPTER XIV.

CHARLES II. (CONTINUED).

1668—1678.

The Cabal.—Plot of the king against the protestant religion.—Royal mistresses.—Coventry act.—Attempts of Blood.—Second Dutch war.—Parties in parliament.—Pensions given by France.—Marriage of the prince of Orange.—Parliament.—Peace of Nimeguen.—Conduct of the country-party.

THE ministry which had hitherto regulated the public affairs was now at an end. Southampton was dead, Clarendon banished, Nicholas had resigned, Albemarle was infirm, and his mean avarice had deprived him of weight; Ormond resided in Ireland. A new ministry was formed, the most profligate that England had as yet seen; it was named the Cabal, a common term, but which curiously coincided with the initial letters of the names of its members, viz.—Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale.

Clifford, the son of a clergyman, had been, as was suspected, secretly reconciled to the church of Rome; he was a man of great resolution, violent and impetuous. He was now a commissioner of the treasury, and was afterwards high-treasurer. The earl of Arlington (formerly sir Henry Bennet) was secretary of state, an office which he had held for some time, and he was at the head of the party in the cabinet opposed to Clarendon. He too was, perhaps, a secret papist. No man knew better than he how to manage the king's temper, and he never let principle stand in the way of his measures. Buckingham was the son of the favourite of Charles I., and was married to the daughter and heiress of lord Fairfax. He had wit, humour, a great talent for mimicry and ridicule, but was utterly devoid of reli-

gion or morality. Ashley (afterwards earl of Shaftesbury) was chancellor of the exchequer. As sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, he had been first on the king's side in the civil wars; he then went over to the parliament; he was a strenuous supporter of Cromwell, and was finally active in the Restoration. He was accused of being equally devoid of religion and principle, but his talents were allowed to be of the highest order, and he was honourable inasmuch as he never betrayed the party which he quitted. Lauderdale was a man of talent, but of violent passions, rough and boisterous in manner, and at all times ready to surrender his judgement and his principles to the will of the court. Sir William Coventry, one of the ablest and honestest statesmen of the time, was made commissioner of the treasury.

The first measure of this ministry however was a laudable one. The rapid progress of the French arms in Flanders giving cause of general alarm, the able and upright sir William Temple was despatched to the Hague, to propose to the States a union with Spain to check the aggressions of France. In the short space of five days three treaties were concluded (Jan. 13, 1668): one was a defensive alliance; the second an engagement to oblige Spain to make peace on the terms Louis had offered; by the third (which was a secret one) the contracting parties bound themselves, in case of Louis' refusal, to join with Spain in compelling him to confirm the peace of the Pyrenees. Sweden joined in this league, and hence it was named the Triple Alliance. Louis, who had already in secret contracted an 'eventual treaty' for the partition of the Spanish monarchy with the emperor Leopold, in which he had bound himself to do the very thing now required of him, after making a little display of his usual theatric dignity, agreed to treat. Plenipotentiaries met at Aix-la-Chapelle (Apr. 22), and peace was concluded; the towns which he had conquered in Flanders being ceded to Louis, and the French frontier thus brought close to that of the

United Provinces. It was, however, this treaty alone that prevented Spain from losing the entire of Flanders.

Buckingham, without any ostensible post, was now in fact the prime minister, and one so profligate in morals has rarely been seen in England. He was living in open adultery with lady Shrewsbury, which led at this very time (Jan. 16) to a duel, in which the injured husband was mortally wounded*. It served the cause of the non-conformists but little to be advocated, as it was, by a man of such a character; the commons, therefore, negatived by a large majority a bill introduced for their relief. They also voted only one half of the sum demanded for the navy, and instituted a rigid inquiry into the conduct of various persons in the late war.

As money for the supply of the royal mistresses and the other profligacies of the court was not to be obtained from the parliament, Buckingham began to form other projects. The first was to reduce the royal expenditure below the revenues, but with a prince of Charles's character that was impracticable. It was then resolved to have recourse to the king of France; Buckingham therefore entered into a negotiation with the duchess of Orleans, and Charles himself apologised to the French resident for his share in the Triple Alliance. Louis, as usual, affected indifference, but the communications gradually became more confidential, and by the end of the year Louis had the leading English ministers in his pay†.

It was not the mere gratification of his pleasures that Charles now looked to; he wished to be absolute. Not, however, that, like his father, he believed despotic power to be his right, or that he felt any pleasure in the exercise of it: what he wanted was freedom from restraint; he could not endure that his private life should be publicly

* The abandoned countess, it is said, dressed as a page, held the horse of her paramour while he was fighting with her husband.

† Colbert, the French resident, wrote that he had made them "*sentir toute l'étendue de la libéralité de sa majesté.*"

criticised, or that parliaments should presume to inquire what had been done with the money they had granted*. All this might be obviated by a standing army, which he might make it the interest of Louis to furnish him with the means of maintaining. But there was another motive operating on the mind of Charles, which, from the tenor of his life, one would be little apt to suspect.

The duke of York was at this time become a catholic. His own account of his conversion is as follows. When he was in Flanders, he read, at the request of a bishop of the church of England, a treatise by that prelate, written to clear that church from the guilt of schism in separating from the church of Rome. He also, at the bishop's desire, read a reply which had been made to it, and the effect produced on his mind was the contrary of what was intended. After the restoration, he read Heylin's 'History of the Reformation,' and the preface to Hooker's 'Ecclesiastical Polity,' and the result was a persuasion that none of the reformers "had power to do what they did." He went on inquiring, and gradually gave his assent to all the Romish doctrines. It must be observed, that the duke, while thus solicitous about his religion, was leading a life nearly, if not altogether, as profligate as that of his brother. All this time he continued outwardly to conform to the church of England. At length he consulted a Jesuit named Simons, on the subject of being reconciled, expressing his hope, that on account of the singularity of his case, he might have a dispensation to continue his outward conformity to the church of England. To his surprise, the good father assured him that the pope had not the power to grant it, "for it was an unalterable doctrine of the catholic church, *not to do evil that good might follow.*" The duke wrote to the pope, and the reply which he received was to the same effect. Thinking it dangerous to delay any longer, he resolved to open his mind to the king, whom he knew to be

* The profligacy of Charles and his court will ever live in the 'Mémoires du comte de Grammont.'

of the same way of thinking. He found his brother equally sensible with himself as to the danger of his condition. It was agreed that the royal brothers should consult with the lords Arundel of Wardour and Arlington, and sir Thomas Clifford (all in the royal secret), on the best mode of advancing the catholic religion in the king's dominions.

On the 25th of January, 1669, the feast of the conversion of St. Paul, the meeting was held in the duke's closet. The king spoke with great earnestness, and with tears in his eyes, describing his uneasiness at not being able to profess the faith he believed; as he knew, he said, that he should meet with great difficulties in what he proposed to do, no time was to be lost, and it should be undertaken while he and his brother were in full strength and vigour, and able to undergo any fatigue. It was resolved to apply to the French king for aid, for which purpose his ambassador was to be let into the secret, and lord Arundel, with sir Richard Bellings, an Irish catholic, for his secretary, was to go to the court of France. Arundel, when at Paris, required from Louis a large sum of money, to enable the king to suppress any insurrection that might break out, offering in return to aid him in his intended invasion of Holland. Louis was willing to assent to these terms; the only question was, which should be first, the war or the king's declaration of his religion. Charles, urged by his brother, was for the last; Louis more wisely recommended the former. The year passed away in discussions: at Christmas the king received the sacrament as usual in public, but it was observed that the duke of York did not accompany him.

The conventicle-act was now near expiring. The lord keeper and chief justice Hale had, with the aid of bishops Wilkins and Reynolds, and of Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Burton, and other divines, been engaged in forming a scheme of comprehension, which was communicated to Baxter, Bates, and Morton, and by them to their non-conforming brethren. Nothing could be more reasonable than the

alterations proposed, and an equally rational plan was devised. But Sheldon and the other intolerants took the alarm; the commons had not abated in their hostility, and the conventicle-act was renewed with the addition of a proviso, "that all clauses in it shall be construed most largely and beneficially for the suppressing conventicles, and for the justification and encouragement of all persons to be employed in the execution thereof." Could anything be more barbarous than this? The vile crew of informers was now unkenneled, houses were broken open, ministers and other persons were dragged to prison. Sheldon and those prelates, such as Ward and Lamplugh, who resembled himself, were zealous in causing the act to be enforced, and the court secretly encouraged them, in the hopes of driving the dissenters to look to a catholic government for relief*.

It is said that Buckingham was most anxious to prevent the succession of the duke of York. According to this prince's own account, his first project was to get the king to acknowledge the legitimacy of his son by Lucy Barlow, whom he had created duke of Monmouth, and given him in marriage the countess of Buccleugh, the wealthiest heiress in Scotland†; lords Carlisle and Ashley, he adds, had the boldness to hint to the king, that if he was desirous of doing so, it would not be difficult to procure witnesses of his marriage, but Charles replied, "that well as he loved the duke, he had rather see him hanged at Tyburn than own him for his legitimate son." To get rid of the

* "The rigorous church of England men were let loose and encouraged underhand to persecute, that the non-conformists might be more sensible of the ease they should have when the catholics prevailed."—*Life of James*, i. 443.

† It is extremely doubtful if Monmouth was really the king's son. According to the *Life of James II.* his mother had been kept by colonel Sidney (brother to Algernon) before Charles knew her; and when she quitted him for the king, Sidney said, "Let who will have her; she is already sped." It is added, that she was so soon with child "that the world had no cause to doubt whose child it was;" and that Monmouth resembled Sidney "even to a wart on his face." Evelyn also says (i. 604, 4to ed.), "He most resembled one Sidney who was familiar with his mother."

sterile queen in some way, in order to enable the king to marry again, was the next plan. Buckingham proposed to seize and convey her away secretly to the plantations, so that she might be no more heard of; but Charles rejected this course with horror. The next project was to deal with the queen's confessor, to induce her to go into a convent; but she had no mind to be a nun, and means, it is said, were employed to cause the pope to forbid her. Some talked of the king's taking another wife, but the public feeling was adverse to polygamy. A divorce was then proposed, and to this the king hearkened; but spiritual divorces were only from bed and board, and a precedent was wanting for the legal marriage of the innocent party. Lord Roos, therefore, whose wife was living in open adultery, got a bill to be moved in the upper house (Mar. 5, 1670) to enable him to marry again. The duke, seeing whither this tended, opposed it with all his might; all the bishops but Cosins and Wilkins were on his side, and all the catholic and several protestant peers. The king employed his influence in favour of it, and on the morning of the third reading (21st) he came and sat on the throne, saying, he was come to renew an old custom of attending at their debates, and desired them to go on as if he were not present. The bill was carried by a small majority, and became a precedent for bills of the same kind, but the king took no advantage of it*. He continued for some time the practice of attending the debates; "it was as good," he said, "as going to a play," and his presence was some check on the opposition.

In the month of May, Louis took occasion of a progress he was making through his lately acquired possessions to let the duchess of Orleans cross the sea to Dover to visit her brother, over whose mind she possessed great influence. Louis hoped that she would be able to prevail with him to commence with the war against the States instead of the declaration of religion, but Charles was immovable on

* We do not see how he well could, as the queen had not committed adultery.

this head. The famous secret treaty was now concluded. Charles was to declare himself a catholic when he judged it expedient, and then to join Louis in a war with the Dutch ; Louis was to give him two millions of livres, and a force of six thousand men ; all the expenses of the war by land were to be borne by Louis, and he was to pay three millions of livres annually toward the charge of the English navy ; the combined fleet to be commanded by the duke of York ; if the States were conquered, Charles was to have Walcheren, Sluys, and Cadsand, and the prince of Orange to be provided for. It was further agreed, that if any new rights to the Spanish monarchy should accrue to Louis (by the death of the king, a puny boy), Charles should aid him in asserting them with all his power, and to get in return Ostend, Minorca, and such parts of South America as he could conquer.

Such was the conspiracy that was formed against the protestant faith and the liberties of Europe ; but many difficulties stood in the way of its success. Charles, when he reflected coolly, became aware of the protestant spirit of his subjects : he did not venture to communicate the secret treaty to his protestant ministers, and to blink them he let Buckingham conclude one (the counterpart of it except as to the article of religion) with France (Jan. 23, 1671). When urged by Louis to declare his religion, he hung back and made various objections, and the course of events soon caused Louis to cease from pressing him.

Charles had latterly recruited his harem from the theatre, where now, in imitation of the continent, women performed. He had taken off no less than two actresses, the one named Moll Davies a dancer, the other the wild and witty Nell Gwyn. He soon grew tired of Davies, who had borne him a daughter*, but Nelly, whom he appointed of the bed-chamber to his insulted queen, retained her hold on his affections through life, and the noble house of St. Albans derive

* Mary Tudor, married in 1687 to Francis Ratcliffe, afterwards created earl of Derwentwater.

their pedigree from this union of royalty with the stage. With the aid of Shaftesbury, it is said, he seduced the daughter of a clergyman named Roberts ; but her early principles retained their hold on her mind, and Burnet says that she died a sincere penitent. A further accession to the royal mistresses was Mademoiselle de Querouaille, a favourite maid of the duchess of Orleans, on whose sudden and mysterious death shortly after the interview at Dover, Charles invited her maid over to England, appointed her of the queen's bed-chamber, and added her to the roll of his mistresses. He afterwards (1672) created her duchess of Portsmouth, and Louis conferred on her the royal domain of Aubigni, which went to her son the duke of Richmond.

As to Castlemain (now duchess of Cleveland), she still retained her place as a royal mistress ; and if Charles was faithless to her, she was equally so to him*.

In the debate on the supplies in the commons, it was proposed to lay a tax on the play-houses. To this it was objected, that the players were the king's servants and a part of his pleasure. Sir John Coventry asked, whether "his majesty's pleasure lay among the men- or the women-players?" This was reported at court, and the king, though earnestly dissuaded by the duke, resolved on a base and cowardly vengeance. The duke of Monmouth was the chief agent, with his lieutenant Sands and O'Brien, son of lord Inchiquin ; and as Coventry was returning one night (Dec. 21) to his lodgings, Sands and O'Brien, with thirteen of the guards, fell on him in the Haymarket. Coventry snatched the flambeau from his servant, and with it in one hand and his sword in the other, and placing his back against the wall, he defended himself stoutly. He wounded O'Brien in the arm ; but they overpowered him, threw him on the ground, and slit his nose with a penknife. They

* Her children by the king, named Fitzroy, were the dukes of Southampton and Grafton, the earl of Northumberland, and a daughter married to sir Henry Lee of Ditchley, Oxon, afterwards earl of Litchfield.

then repaired to the duke of Monmouth to boast of what they had done. When the commons re-assembled, they were outrageous at this base assault on one of their members, and they passed an act banishing the perpetrators without pardon, unless they surrendered, and making it felony, without benefit of clergy, to maim or disfigure the person. This act is named the Coventry-act.

A still more atrocious attempt had lately been made on a more illustrious person. As the duke of Ormond was returning in the dark (Dec. 6) from a dinner given by the city, his coach was stopped in St. James'-street, he was dragged out of it, set behind a man on horseback and fastened to him by a belt. The man urged his horse and proceeded toward Hyde-park; but on the way the duke put his foot under the rider's, and leaning to the other side they both fell to the ground; the sound of footsteps being heard, the assassin loosed the belt and fired a pair of pistols at the duke, but without effect; he then fled away and escaped. An inquiry was instituted by the house of lords, a reward of 1000*l*. and a pardon to any of the party who would turn informer, was offered by the king, but to no purpose*.

Some time after, a person wearing a cassock formed an acquaintance with Edwards, the keeper of the regalia in the Tower. He proposed a match between a nephew of his and Edwards's daughter. At seven in the morning of the 9th of May, the pretended clergyman came with two companions and asked to see the regalia. While they were in the room they suddenly threw a cloak over Edwards's head and then put a gag in his mouth, and when he struggled

* Some suspected Buckingham; and Ormond's son, Ossory, on coming to court some time after and seeing him standing by the king, said to him, "My lord, I know well that you are at the bottom of this late attempt upon my father. But I give you warning. If by any means he come to a violent end, I shall not be at a loss to know the author. I shall consider *you* as the assassin; I shall treat you as such; and wherever I meet you I will pistol you, though you stood behind the king's chair. And I tell you in his majesty's presence, that you may be sure I shall not fail of performance."

they knocked him down and wounded him in the belly. The clergyman then placed the crown under his cloak, another put the globe in his breeches, and the third began to file the sceptre in two to put it into a bag. Edwards's son happening to come by, the alarm was given; the robbers ran and had nearly reached their horses at St. Catharine's gate, when they were secured. From curiosity, or some other motive, the king himself attended their examination. The chief said that his name was Blood; that it was he that had seized the duke of Ormond, with the intention of hanging him at Tyburn; that he was one of a band of three hundred sworn to avenge each other's death; that he and others had resolved to kill the king for his severity to the godly, and that he had one time taken his station among the reeds at Battersea to shoot him as he was bathing, but the awe of majesty overcame him, and he relented; the king might now take his life if he pleased, but it would be at the risk of his own; whereas if he pardoned him, he would secure the gratitude of a band of faithful and resolute spirits. Charles pardoned him, nay, more, gave him an estate of 500*l.* a year in Ireland, of which country he was a native, and kept him at court, where he rose to the possession of much influence: he also requested Ormond to pardon him, saying that he had certain reasons for asking it. The duke replied that his majesty's command was a sufficient reason. What are we to infer from all this? Was Charles a coward? or was some one of those who were in his confidence the secret instigator of the attempt on the life of the duke?

The next event was the death of the duchess of York (May 31). She died a catholic: her protestantism had been little better than popery; the secret efforts of her husband had had their effect, and she had been reconciled in the preceding month of August. Her father wrote, her brother remonstrated; but their efforts were fruitless; she received the last sacrament from the hands of a Franciscan friar. Her conversion was known, it is said, to but five

persons ; but the secret gradually transpired and caused the religion of the duke to be suspected. She had borne him eight children, of whom two daughters, Mary and Anne, alone survived.

During the last year, the young prince of Orange had come over to visit his royal uncle. Charles, who had really a regard for him, wished to draw him into his projects ; but he found him, as the French ambassador says, too zealous a Dutchman and protestant to be trusted with the secret*. It is curious enough that, as the prince told Burnet, the king gave him to understand that he was himself a catholic.

The war with the States being decided on, the Cabal prepared to commence it with robbery at home and piracy abroad. To have a good supply of money to begin with, the fertile brain of Ashley, it is said (but he always denied it), suggested to shut up the exchequer. To understand this, we must observe that since the time of Cromwell the bankers and others had been in the habit of advancing money at eight per cent. to the government, receiving in return an assignment of some branch of the revenue till principal and interest should be discharged. The new plan was to suspend all payments for twelve months, and to add the interest now due to the capital, allowing six per cent. interest on this new stock†. This was approved of by the privy-council, and the public was informed of it by proclamation (Jan. 2, 1672). The consequences were, the ministers had a sum of 1,300,000*l.* at their disposal ; many of the bankers failed ; trade in general received a severe shock ; numbers of widows, orphans, and other annuitants were reduced to misery.

There had been no declaration of war against the Dutch, with whom Charles was actually in alliance ; but their Smyrna fleet would be coming up channel in March, and

* Dalrymple, i. 122.

† "This," says Hallam (ii. 526), "was never paid till the latter part of William's reign ; it may be considered as the beginning of our national debt." See however his note in vol. iii. p. 181.

it was known to be wealthy, and it was supposed would suspect no danger. Holmes was therefore sent to intercept it; he was desired to take with him all the ships of war he should meet; but anxious to have all the glory and profit to himself, he let sir Edward Spragge's squadron, returning from the Mediterranean, pass him by. Next morning (Mar. 3) the Smyrna fleet of sixty sail came in sight. But the States had suspected the designs of their royal neighbours, and put their naval commanders on their guard. Many of these ships were well armed, and Van Nesse, who was conveying them with seven men of war, disposed his force so well as completely to baffle the English. Holmes being reinforced during the night, renewed the attack next day, and he succeeded in capturing one ship of war and four merchantmen, two of which were very valuable. This piratic enterprise (of which the disgrace was aggravated by its failure) was condemned both at home and abroad.

The next measure was to issue a declaration of indulgence (15th), in order to gain over the dissenters to the side of the court and to pave the way for a general toleration. The measure itself, which was suggested by Shaftesbury, was beneficent, had it originated in good motives; but it proceeded on the principle of an arbitrary dispensing power in the crown that might be carried to a dangerous extent. A portion of the dissenters received it with gratitude, and presented an address of thanks to the king; but the orthodox took alarm, and the pulpits resounded with arguments and declamation against popery.

Both kings now formally declared war against the States. Louis merely said that it did not consist with his reputation (*gloire*) to put up any longer with insult from them. Charles (17th) enumerated several petty causes of hostility, "and surely," says Hume, "reasons more false and frivolous never were employed to justify a flagrant breach of treaty." The king of Sweden, the bishop of Münster, and the elector of Cologne were drawn into the confederacy against the States.

While preparations were being made to put the land-forces of the States into a condition to resist the troops of France, De Ruyter got to sea with seventy-five men of war and a number of fire-ships to prevent the junction of the French and English fleets; this, however, he was unable to effect, and the combined fleet having vainly tried to bring him to action off Ostend, returned to Southwold-bay. De Ruyter, learning that they were occupied taking in men and provisions, resolved to fall on them while thus engaged. He was near surprising them (May 28); but though the wind and tide were adverse, the duke of York, who commanded, got about twenty of his ships in line of battle, being part of the red squadron under himself and of the blue under the earl of Sandwich. D'Estrées, with the French fleet, was to the southward, opposed to the ships of Zealand. Though the disparity of numbers was great, the battle was obstinate. Sandwich, in the *Royal James*, took a ship of seventy guns and killed admiral Van Ghent; but his own vessel having been much damaged, a fire-ship grappled on her larboard and set her in flames, and the earl and all on board but two or three hundred perished. The duke, when his ship, the *Prince*, was disabled, shifted his flag to the *St. Michael*; and this vessel being also disabled, he finally hoisted it in the *London*. In the afternoon the other ships came into the action, and the Dutch finally fled with the loss of three ships; the English lost but one: the French had taken no part in the action.

Meantime Louis, at the head of one hundred thousand men, had burst like a flood over the frontiers. His disciplined legions were directed by the genius of Condé and Turenne, while the Dutch troops were raw levies and ill-officered. Fortress after fortress opened their gates, making hardly a show of resistance. The season happening to be very dry, the rivers were low, the passage of the Rhine offered no difficulty (June 2), and in the space of three weeks the French monarch reduced three of the Provinces, and had advanced within three leagues of Amsterdam.

Resistance appearing nearly hopeless, ambassadors were sent to learn on what terms peace might be obtained. Buckingham, Arlington, and lord Saville (now earl of Halifax) were sent on the part of Charles to Utrecht, where Louis had fixed his quarters, and the demands of the two sovereigns were there communicated to the Dutch ministers. Louis required large cessions of forts and territory; seventeen millions of livres; a gold medal every year; the churches in the towns to be shared with the catholics, and a provision for their clergy. Charles demanded the honour of the flag in the narrow seas; 10,000*l.* a year for the liberty of fishing; a million sterling for the expenses of the war; the dignity of Stadtholder for the prince of Orange.

This prince, though only in his twenty-second year, had been made general and admiral of the commonwealth; De Witt, who was his guardian, had, though hostile to his family, given him an excellent education; and the character of the prince himself was such as, joined with the remembrance of the services of his family, enabled him to gain the popular favour. The people were clamorous for the repeal of the Perpetual Edict, which had been framed for his exclusion; they rose in arms at Dort (June 30), and then in the other towns, and everywhere established the unlimited authority of the prince. An attempt was made to assassinate John De Witt; and his brother Cornelius being charged by an infamous wretch, named Tichelaer, with an endeavour to induce him to poison the prince, was put to the torture. A sentence of banishment was passed on him; his brother, the pensionary, came to the prison to convey him to his place of exile in his coach; instantly an infuriated rabble surrounded the prison, burst open the doors, seized the two brothers, despatched them by a multitude of wounds, and offered every species of indignity to their dead bodies. Such is the rabble in every country—brutal, bloody, and unreflecting: against their sudden fury neither private virtue nor the greatest public services are a protection.

The prince, by means of an atrocity which he abhorred, was now left uncontrolled. He urged the people not to despair, but to reject the humiliating conditions offered to them, and to resist to the uttermost. Their patriotic ardour revived; the sluices had already been opened, and the generous resolution was taken to fly, if all should fail, to their settlements in the east, and there to found a new empire. When Buckingham urged the prince to abandon the cause of the Provinces, as their ruin was inevitable, "There is one certain means," he replied, "by which I can be sure never to see my country's ruin; I will die in the last ditch." The affairs of the Provinces, under the guidance of their young hero, soon assumed a brighter aspect. A combined English and French fleet, with a land-force on board, approached the coast; but winds and tide acted so opportunely to keep them off, that it was regarded as a special interference of Providence. Louis, weary of the toils of war, returned to the pleasures of Versailles, and the French arms became inactive. Spain had sent some forces to the aid of the prince, and the emperor and the elector of Brandenburg were preparing to impede the progress of the French monarch.

Charles, however, adhered firmly to his engagements with Louis; he also gave his own ministers proofs of his satisfaction with their conduct by bestowing honours on them: Buckingham and Arlington had the garter and the latter an earldom; Clifford was made lord Clifford of Chudleigh, and Ashley earl of Shaftesbury. This last, on the lord-keeper Bridgeman's hesitating in some matter*, represented him to the king as a mere old dotard, and the seals with the title of lord-chancellor were transferred to himself (Nov. 17). In his new office he displayed the levity and eccentricity of his character. He rode himself, and made

* Burnet says that Bridgeman resigned sooner than put the great seal to the declaration of indulgence; North asserts that the reason of his resignation was his objection to grant an injunction to the creditors of the bankers who were suing them.

the judges and law-officers ride in ancient-wise in procession to Westminster; he sat on the bench in "an ash-coloured gown, silver-laced"; he prided himself on his despatch of business; made his orders with rapidity and after his own fancy; but so many applications were made to him by counsel for explanations, that he soon became quite tame and humble in his court. Clifford at this time was made lord-treasurer.

It was now nearly two years since parliament had met; the king, however willing, could no longer dispense with its services, as the only means of obtaining money. When it assembled (Feb. 5, 1673), he addressed it himself. He spoke of the war as just and necessary; and as to his declaration of indulgence, at which some cavilled, he told them plainly that he was resolved to stick to it; he also mentioned the army, which with their aid he intended to augment. Shaftesbury then spoke. He told them that the Dutch aimed at an empire as extensive as that of ancient Rome; that they were the eternal enemy of this country; that *Delenda est Carthago* was the maxim of the parliament, and a wise one; and that he had no doubt but that they would be liberal in their supplies.

Though the members were the same, the house was now different from what it had been. The fervour of their loyalty had cooled, and they saw clearly whither the court was tending. Their first care was therefore to vindicate their own authority. Ever since 1604 it had been the practice in case of a vacancy in the house for the speaker to issue a writ for a new election; but Shaftesbury had taken on him, as chancellor, to issue the writs, and thus to introduce his dependents into the house. The legality of these was questioned (6th); the elections were voted void, and the speaker was directed to issue new writs. As the king made no opposition, Shaftesbury saw plainly that he could not be relied on, and he took his measures accordingly.

The very next day the commons voted a supply of no

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less a sum than 1,260,000*l*. They then proceeded to their grand attack on the Declaration of Indulgence, to which Charles had affirmed he would 'stick,' and after a long and adjourned debate, in spite of all the efforts of the courtiers, it was resolved (10th), by a majority of 168 to 116, that "penal statutes in matters ecclesiastical cannot be suspended but by act of parliament." An address to this effect was presented to the king (14th); he replied (24th), asserting his ecclesiastical authority, but expressing his willingness to assent to any bill for carrying the intents of his declaration into effect. This was voted insufficient, and in a second address they assured him that he was mistaken in supposing himself to possess that power. Charles was indignant, and talked of a dissolution; the duke, Clifford, Shaftesbury, and the more violent applauded his spirit; now was his time or never, they said—concessions had ruined his father and would ruin him. Ormond and Arlington in vain advised him to yield. It was resolved to oppose the lords to the commons. The king solicited the advice of the peers (Mar. 1); Clifford addressed them with his usual violence; but Shaftesbury said that though his own opinion was in favour of the prerogative, he would not presume to set it against that of the house of commons. The lords resolved (4th), that the king's was a good and gracious answer. Charles's resolution however had already begun to give way; the French ambassador counselled him to yield for the present; the women too, it is said, interfered. He sent for the declaration, and in the presence of his ministers broke off the seal, and next morning (8th) assured the two houses, that "what had been done should never be drawn into consequence." Acclamation followed, and at night bonfires flamed all through the city.

A few days after (12th) the Test-act, as it is named, passed the commons. In the lords, the earl of Bristol, though avowing himself a catholic, spoke in favour of it; the king gave a ready consent to it; and what is most

strange, it is said to have originated with Arlington. Its object was to exclude the catholics from places of honour and profit. It required that every person holding any office of trust or profit should, beside taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, receive the sacrament according to the rites of the church of England, and subscribe a declaration against transubstantiation. Immediately the duke of York waited on the king, and with tears resigned to him all his commissions: his example was followed by lord Clifford, lord Bellasis, and others.

It is remarkable that the dissenters actually supported this bill, which excluded themselves as completely as the papists; but they willingly joined to oppose the common enemy; and in return a bill for *their* relief was passed and sent up to the lords (17th). Here however it received amendments to which the commons would not agree; Sheldon and his party too, it is said, exerted themselves to defeat it; a sudden prorogation (29th) put an end to it, and the patriotic disinterestedness of the dissenters was thus ill-rewarded.

As the parliament had given the means, a fleet was got to sea under prince Rupert. Combined with that of D'Estrées it sailed over to the coast of Holland, where De Ruyter gave it battle (May 28). The action was indecisive, and the fleets again encountered within a few days (June 4) with a similar result. An attempt to land an army under count Schomberg on the coast of Holland also failed. The duke's party threw all the blame on the prince, as being too closely connected with the country-party to act with energy; the prince in return complained that his powers were limited and his ships ill-supplied. The mouth of the Texel witnessed (Aug. 11) the last naval encounter between the Dutch and English for many years. It was fought with great obstinacy (the French squadron, as usual, only looking on): sir Edward Spragge, the second in command, was drowned as he was quitting the second ship in which he had hoisted his flag, in order to

raise it in the third. In this action also the victory was doubtful.

The reduction of Maestricht was the only advantage gained by Louis this year. The prince of Orange besieged and took Naerden, and he afterwards eluded the French generals and formed a junction with the Imperialists, under Montecuculi, who were besieging Bonn. The surrender of that town and some other places gave them the command of the electorate of Cologne, and the French troops in the Provinces were thus cut off from communication with home. A congress for peace was meantime sitting at Cologne, under the mediation of Sweden; but the States, now backed by the house of Austria, spurned at the conditions offered by the allied monarchs.

The first question that engaged the attention of parliament when it re-assembled in the latter end of October was the marriage of the duke of York, who had lately (Sept. 30) espoused, by proxy, Maria D'Este, sister to the duke of Modena, a princess only fifteen years of age, but a catholic. They addressed the king, praying him not to allow the marriage to be consummated. Charles pleaded his honour. They forthwith passed votes for refusing supplies, imposing a severer test, etc., when the king came to the house of lords and prorogued the parliament (Nov. 4). As he considered that Shaftesbury had played him false, he took the great seal from him (9th), and committed it to sir Heneage Finch. Sir Thomas Osborne, (now lord Latimer,) had obtained the white staff resigned by Clifford. Shaftesbury now assumed the character of a patriot, and became the secret leader of the opposition.

When the parliament met (Jan. 7, 1674) the king addressed them with his usual affability; the lord-keeper then followed, in a long speech, the object of which was to obtain an immediate supply. The commons first passed an address, praying the king to enjoin a public fast, that the nation might implore Heaven to preserve "the church and state against the undermining practices of popish recu-

sants," and to adopt certain measures of precaution against them; they then voted the removal from office of persons "popishly inclined, or otherwise obnoxious or dangerous;" and, following up this vote, they proceeded to assail the individual members of the Cabal.

The first attacked was the duke of Lauderdale. He was charged with having raised an army in Scotland to be employed in setting up arbitrary power in England, and with having said to the king in council, "Your majesty's edicts are equal with the laws, and ought to be observed in the first place." It was resolved to address the king to dismiss him from his employments and from the royal presence and councils for ever. Buckingham, aware that his own turn would come next, asked leave to address the house. His defence was feeble; his chief object was to shift the blame from himself to Arlington; one expression which he used seemed to go higher: "Hunting," he said, "is a good diversion; but if a man will hunt with a brace of lobsters, he will have but ill sport." An address was voted for his removal from the royal presence and councils. Arlington came off the best; he also defended himself before the commons, and with more spirit than was expected; and the motion for an address against him was lost.

All this time the commons were silent on the subject of a supply; and as the States just then made, through the Spanish ambassador, an offer of peace, which Charles, with the advice of both houses, resolved to accept, sir W. Temple was appointed to negotiate, and in three days the affair was brought to a conclusion (Feb. 19). The honour of the flag was yielded to England; colonial and commercial questions were to be settled by arbitration; and the Dutch agreed to pay 800,000 crowns in four annual instalments. The parliament was then prorogued (24th).

Two further attempts at weakening the influence of the duke were made; the one in the commons, by a more comprehensive test; the other in the lords, by an amend-

ment to a bill brought in for restraining popery. This last was lost, and the prorogation stopped the other. The duke took alarm; his first thought was a dissolution, but to that course the king was very adverse, and the result of it was quite uncertain. He then bent his thoughts to delay the meeting of parliament; but for this purpose it was necessary that the king should be supplied with money. Fortunately for him, Louis XIV. was as anxious as himself to keep the king and parliament asunder, for he feared that England might now join the confederacy against him. The duke therefore proposed that Louis should give the king 400,000*l.*; the usual chaffering took place, and Charles was obliged to be content with 500,000 crowns. The parliament was then prorogued from November till the April of the following year.

The advantages of the campaign this year were on the side of France. Louis recovered Franche Comté; Turenne was successful against the Imperialists in Alsace, and forced the allies to repass the Rhine. The prince of Orange, who was opposed to Condé in Flanders, resolved, as his troops were superior in number, to make an attempt to penetrate into France. Condé avoided fighting, but, at a place named Seneffe, observing that the prince had exposed one wing of his army, he made a furious attack on it. A general action ensued, which was continued, when the daylight was gone, by that of the moon. The loss was nearly equal, and each side claimed the victory. "The prince of Orange," said Condé, "has acted in everything like an old captain, except venturing his life like a young soldier." The campaign concluded by the taking of Grave by the prince of Orange.

Of the persons who had been accused by the commons, Buckingham alone was abandoned by the king, and he forthwith, as a matter of course, joined Shaftesbury and the opposition. Arlington, who saw his influence fading before that of the treasurer (now earl of Danby), sold, by the royal command, his place of secretary to sir Joseph Williamson

for 6000*l.*, and was raised to the higher but less influential post of lord chamberlain. To prop his falling power, he proposed to the king to negotiate a match between the prince of Orange, and Mary the eldest daughter of the duke of York. As the prince was well known to be a stanch protestant, this measure, he said, would eminently serve to allay the apprehensions of the nation on the subject of religion, and be in fact advantageous in many respects. The king approved warmly of the project; the objections of the duke of York were overruled; and in the beginning of the winter lord Arlington and lord Ossory, who were married to two sisters of a noble Dutch family, went over to the Hague under the pretext of visiting their wives' relations. The proposition, when made to the prince by lord Ossory, was coldly received; he said that, as circumstances were at present, he was not in a condition to think of taking a wife. After a short stay the envoys returned to England.

During the winter, the court- and country-parties were busily engaged in preparing their plans for the ensuing campaign in parliament. In the lords the crown had a decided majority; but the minority, headed by Shaftesbury, Buckingham, Salisbury, and Wharton, was formidable from its talent and union. The country-party was strong in the commons, where it possessed lord William Russell, esteemed for his probity and integrity; lord Cavendish, less correct in morals, but far superior in parts; sir William Coventry, deeply skilled in affairs, and free from passion and private resentments; Powle (Powell), learned in precedents and parliamentary usages; Littleton, the ablest in debate; Birch, rough and bold and powerful above all men of the day to sway a popular assembly*;

* He had been originally a carrier. In the Civil War he rose to the rank of colonel, and he was concerned in the excise, which he was found to understand so well that he obtained a good post at the restoration. When sir Edward Seymour once reflected on his original profession, he calmly replied that it was true he had been a carrier, and he believed if that worthy gentleman had ever been so he would have been so still. He made a similar reply to Mr.

the veteran senators Lee and Garroway, together with Vaughan, Sacheverell, and many other able debaters. Their plan was, to urge the king to join the allies against France ; to impeach the earl of Danby ; and to refuse the supplies while he remained in office.

The plan of the court was to unite with the church, and thus deprive their opponents of their advantage in appearing as the champions of religion. A council was held at Lambeth, at which several prelates attended ; they were assured of the king's attachment to the church, and called upon to give him their support ; measures were devised for crushing popery, and a severe proclamation against recusants and non-conformists was forthwith issued. The duke of York remonstrated in vain ; in contempt of his parental authority, the princesses Mary and Anne were led to church by their preceptor Compton, bishop of London, and confirmed.

When parliament met (Apr. 13, 1675), the address against Lauderdale, of which the king had taken no notice, was renewed, but to as little effect. Seven articles of impeachment were then exhibited against the earl of Danby. He had however, like his predecessors*, made large purchases of votes in the house, but on a more economical plan, we are told ; for while they bought leading men at high prices, he looked out for those who had only their votes to sell, and consequently disposed of them more cheaply. The articles were therefore all thrown out. The grand attempt of the ministers was made in the lords, where a bill for a new test was introduced. By this, every member of either house, and every person holding any of-

Coventry. Charles II. having, when offended with him, said that he remembered Forty-one, Birch boldly made answer that *he* remembered Forty-eight. See Burnet, ii. 82, and *note*.

* " Clifford," says Hallam (ii. 537), " and still more Danby, were masters in an art practised by ministers from the time of James I. (and which indeed can never be unknown where there exists a court and popular assembly) that of turning to their use the weapons of mercenary eloquence by office, or blunting their edge by bribery."

fice, was required to swear, that it is unlawful on any pretence whatsoever to take up arms against the king; that it is traitorous to take up arms by the king's authority against his person; and that he will not endeavour the alteration of the government either in church or state. The debate on this bill lasted seventeen days; the king occupied his usual place at the fire-side; but Shaftesbury and the other opponents of the measure, heedless of his presence, employed all their eloquence and all their powers of reason against it. It was carried by a majority of only two; had it come to the commons, it had probably been rejected by a much larger majority; but a question of privilege happening just then to arise between the two houses, the king took advantage of it to prorogue the parliament (June 9).

When parliament met (Oct. 13), the king required money for the navy, and also a sum of 800,000*l.* which had been borrowed on the revenue. This last was refused, but a sum of 300,000*l.* was voted for the building of twenty ships of war, to which it was strictly appropriated. The contest with the lords was renewed; and such was the heat with which it was carried on, that it was moved in the lords to address the king to dissolve the parliament. This was opposed by the ministers, but supported by the duke of York and his friends. A prorogation for the long period of fifteen months was the result (Nov. 22), for which Charles received 500,000 crowns from the king of France.

The campaign of 1675 was favourable to the allies. Condé's army in Flanders was rendered inactive by the able conduct of the prince of Orange; and Turenne having been killed by a random shot while commanding beyond the Rhine, his army was obliged to repass that river, and it was followed by the Imperialists into Alsace. The allies having laid siege to Treves, marshal Crequi advanced to its relief: but at Consabrie he was fallen on and routed, and the garrison of Treves, whither he had escaped, having

mutinied, capitulated and delivered him into the hands of the allies. The king of England, when he had concluded peace with the States, made an offer of his mediation to the other powers. Though from various causes they were all but the Dutch desirous of continuing the war, they could not decently reject the proposal of the British monarch. The place fixed on for the congress was Nimeguen, whither the lord Berkeley, sir William Temple, and sir Leoline Jenkins repaired as the English ministers. After many delays the congress met in the summer of this year; but, as was to be expected, the ministers were more anxious to raise than to remove difficulties. The great object of the allies was to prevail on Charles to join them against France; but to this course he had many objections, of which not the least was the state of dependence on his parliament to which it would reduce him. Louis took advantage of this feeling; the ambassador Ruvigni received directions to offer the same amount of pension as before for his neutrality. An agreement was made between Charles and Ruvigni for a pension of 100,000*l.* a year to be paid to the former; in return for which he was to sign a treaty, by which the two monarchs were to bind themselves to enter into no engagements but by mutual consent, and to aid each other in case of any rebellion in their respective dominions. This was communicated to no one but the duke of York, Lauderdale, and Danby. The two former approved of it of course; Danby hesitated and advised to consult the privy council; but the king removed all difficulty, by writing out the treaty with his own hand and setting his private seal to it (Feb. 17, 1676.). He then delivered it to Ruvigni, who forthwith set out for Paris in order to have it signed by Louis. It would be difficult in the whole of history to meet a more disreputable transaction than this barter of honour and independence for lucre by the sovereign of a great and powerful nation.

Charles thus enjoying the pension, the price of his dishonour, lived on indolently till the time came for the meet-

ing of parliament (Feb. 5, 1677). The opposition had discovered what they regarded as a vantage-point against the court. There were two statutes of Edward III., which ordained that a parliament should be held "once a year or oftener if need be," and as fifteen months had elapsed since the last meeting, the parliament, they asserted, had in fact ceased to exist. This view was maintained with much boldness and ingenuity in the lords by Buckingham, supported by Shaftesbury, Salisbury, and Wharton; but Finch (now lord-chancellor and earl of Nottingham), showed, in opposition to them, that the triennial act of the 16th of the late king, and the act of the present king repealing that act, had extended the term to three years. Buckingham's motion was negatived by a large majority; the four lords were required to acknowledge that their conduct was "ill-advised," and to beg pardon of the king and the house, and on their refusal they were committed to the Tower*.

In consequence, it is said, of the bribes which he liberally bestowed, the minister had a majority on finance questions in the commons. Money therefore was granted for the navy; but it was appropriated, and none of it came into the treasury, so that the king had still need of his pension. The parliament now began to urge him to war; for Louis had entered Flanders at the head of a large army, taken Valenciennes, Cambray, and St. Omer, and defeated the prince of Orange at Cassel. The king, in order to do so, demanded an additional 600,000*l.*, pledging his royal word† not to break trust with them, or employ the money

* They remained there till the meeting of parliament in the following year, when the others took their seats, merely asking pardon. Shaftesbury, who had had himself brought before the court of king's bench by *Habeas Corpus*, was obliged to ask pardon for it on his knees.

† Hume, having noticed the secret treaty with Louis which Charles had signed, calls his pledging of his word on the present occasion "one of the most dishonourable and most scandalous acts that ever proceeded from a throne." Lingard most strangely says, that the reason given by Hume is "because he was then negotiating for money with the French ambassador;"

for any other purposes but those for which it was granted. But the commons knew him too well to trust him. They voted an address (May 25), praying him to enter into an alliance with the States-general and other powers for the preservation of the Spanish Netherlands. Charles affected great anger at this, as an encroachment on his prerogative, and he commanded both houses to adjourn till July. The court of France was still uneasy, and its envoy Courtin was urgent for a dissolution, or at least a prorogation till the following April. For this service Charles demanded an addition of 100,000*l.* a year to his pension. The usual chaffering took place, but the French were finally obliged to come into his terms, and also to consent that the increased pension should be reckoned from the commencement of the current year. The parliament was therefore prorogued from July to December, with a promise to Courtin that if the money was regularly paid it should then be further adjourned to April. What Englishman can refrain from blushing at this disgraceful bargain? yet Charles, though the highest, was not the only criminal at this time; Courtin also bribed sundry members of the parliament to engage to forward the views of the two monarchs*.

The prince of Orange had long looked forward to a union with his cousin the princess Mary; but the opposition party in England, who feared that this match might unite him more closely with his uncles, had endeavoured to divert him from it. Now however, seeing the necessity of an effort to induce the king of England to aid in checking the career of the French monarch, he resolved to seek the hand of the princess. We must not be so unjust to the memory of this great prince as to suppose him actuated solely by political motives in this proceeding; on

and on this ground attempts to defend Charles. He has either misread or misrepresented Hume.

* Dalrymple, i. 182.

the contrary, in the spring of the preceding year, he had held a serious conversation on the subject with sir W. Temple, in which he stated that, situated as he was, he knew he must marry one time or other; but that at the same time, no considerations of political expediency would induce him to marry a woman with whom he could not look forward to a reasonable prospect of domestic happiness, and he begged that Temple would give him his candid opinion respecting the princess. The ambassador urged him to the marriage, and made so favourable a report of the lady Mary, that the prince wrote to his uncles on the subject and requested permission to come over about it at the end of the campaign. These letters were brought to England by lady Temple.

The prince does not seem to have taken any further steps till the present year, when, having obtained the king's permission*, he set out at the end of the campaign, and landing at Harwich proceeded to Newmarket, where his uncles then were (Oct. 9). He was very kindly received by the king, to whose surprise, however, he seemed disinclined to enter on discourse of business. Charles desired sir W. Temple to try to find out the cause, and the prince told him that he was resolved to see the princess before he proceeded any further, and also to settle the affair of his marriage previously to entering on that of the peace. The king, when informed of this, very kindly left Newmarket sooner than usual; the prince, on seeing the lady Mary in London, was so pleased with her, that he made his proposals at once to her father and uncle, by whom they were well received; but they insisted that the terms of the peace must be previously settled. The prince would not give way on this point; he said that "his allies, who were like to have hard terms of the peace as things then stood, would be apt to believe that he had made this match at their cost; and for his part he would never sell his honour

* Danby wrote to him, by the king's order, to come over. Burnet, ii. 120, *note*.

for a wife." The king was equally obstinate on his side, and Temple and Danby, who were both zealous for the match, were beginning to despair; the prince declared that he would remain but two days longer in England, a resolution which he desired Temple to communicate to the king. Temple, on doing so, represented to Charles the ill consequences of a breach between him and the prince. Charles listened attentively. "Well," said he, "I never was yet deceived in judging of a man's honesty by his looks; and if I am not deceived in the prince's face, he is the honestest man in the world, and I will trust him, and he shall have his wife; and you shall go immediately and tell my brother so, and that 'tis a thing I am resolved on." The duke, when Temple waited on him, seemed surprised, but declared his readiness to obey the king. Danby, when informed by Temple, undertook to adjust all the remaining points; and that evening the match was declared in the committee, and next day in the council. The king's mode of announcing his intention to the prince was characteristic; "Nephew," said he, "it is not good for man to be alone; I will give you a help meet for you:" he then added, that he would give him his niece; the duke consented in very obliging terms. On the fourth of November this auspicious marriage was solemnised by the bishop of London. It is deserving of note, that six days after the duchess of York was delivered of a son*.

The king, the duke, the prince, and Danby and Temple, now took into consideration the question of the peace. The prince, convinced that Louis would never abstain from war, insisted on a strong frontier on both sides of Flanders; the king was of opinion that Louis was weary of war, and would devote himself to ease and pleasure; Temple thought

* This perhaps may refute the insinuation of Dr. Lingard (xii. 53. *note*): "When the offer of marriage was made (by Arlington in 1674), the prince knew that the duchess of York was in an advanced state of pregnancy, a circumstance which considerably lessened its value." The duke of Cambridge, the child now born, died the following month (Dec. 15).

with the prince. They were, however, obliged to give way a little, and it was agreed that Louis should be obliged to resign all his conquests from the empire, and restore Lorraine to its duke; that France and Holland should mutually give back the places they had taken, but that Louis should retain all his conquests in Flanders, except Aeth, Charleroi, Oudenarde, Courtrai, Tournai, and Valenciennes, which would form a frontier between the French dominions and the United Provinces. The lord Duras, a Frenchman and attached to the duke (now created earl of Feversham)*, was sent over to Paris with this treaty. He was to demand a positive answer in two days, but pretexts were made for detaining him, and meantime the prince was obliged to return to the continent. Louis was in fact highly indignant at the marriage of the princess Mary; Charles excused himself to Barillon the ambassador by saying, "I am the only one of my party, except it be my brother:" and the truth was, that he could not get any minister to join cordially in his projects of union with Louis. This monarch seemed resolved to listen to no terms but such as he should dictate, and though the winter had commenced his army forthwith took the field and invested Guislain. Charles then (Dec. 3) appointed the parliament to meet on the 15th of January; Louis (17th) stopped the payment of his pension, offering at the same time, if he would consent to his retention of Condé, Valenciennes, and Tournai, to send him the value of them in bars of gold, concealed in silk; and Danby was promised, if he would give his influence, any reward he should name in diamonds and pearls. Danby, however, was not to be bought; the king and duke were also displeased with Louis, and the duke looked forward to the command of an army and the acquisition of military fame. It is also likely, that the royal brothers thought their schemes of arbitrary power would

* He was brother to the duke of Buillon and to the great Turenne, and a protestant.

be more likely to be effected by the force of a native army, than by the insidious aid of Louis.

When the parliament met (Jan. 28, 1678), Charles informed them that he had concluded an alliance offensive and defensive with the States for the protection of Flanders, and that he should require a fleet of ninety sail, and an army of from thirty to forty thousand men. After a good deal of opposition, a supply for that purpose was voted (Feb. 5). The king, however, was still desirous of peace; but the success of Louis, who had now reduced Ypres and Ghent, exasperated the English nation, and the commons hastened (Mar. 8) to pass a bill for a part of the supply. Charles forthwith sent a body of three thousand men to the defence of Ostend, and he issued money for raising twenty thousand more, to be accomplished within six weeks.

The troops when raised were, king James assures us, "as good as anywhere were to be seen." The commons, who, as the same prince tells us, "were in reality more jealous of the king's power than of the power of France," took alarm, and passed a resolution (Apr. 29) not to grant any more supplies till full satisfaction was given on the subject of religion. Charles, enraged at this disappointment, forthwith prorogued the parliament and commenced negotiations with Louis, with whom he subscribed (May 17) a secret treaty, engaging, in case the States would not accept the terms offered at Nimeguen, to withdraw his troops from the continent, for which he was to receive from Louis 450,000*l.* in four quarterly payments. When parliament met (23rd), an address was made that war should be declared or the army be disbanded. The king's reply was evasive, and the commons resolved (June 4) that all the forces raised within the last seven months, "ought to be paid off and disbanded forthwith," and voted money for the purpose. The king, however, was not willing to part with his army. Urged by the duke of York, the council resolved to enter on the war; a corps of four thousand

men was sent over to Flanders, and four thousand more, to be commanded by the duke, were in readiness for embarkation. At the same time (July 16) a new treaty was concluded with the States, unless Louis should abandon some pretensions which he had lately made in favour of Sweden.

Louis knew when to recede as well as advance. During a fortnight his ministers employed all the resources of diplomatic tactics against those of the States, and then, when all men looked for a renewal of war, suddenly yielded (July 31), and the peace between France and the States was signed the same day before midnight. Four days after (Aug. 4) the prince of Orange attacked the French army at St. Denis, near Mons, which town they were besieging. As it is not very likely that he could be ignorant of the actual signature of the treaty of Nimeguen, the blood of the five thousand men who were slain in the action may be said to rest on his head. He probably hoped that a victory would prevent the ratification of the treaty, to which he was strongly opposed.

Spain and the emperor found it necessary to agree to the Peace of Nimeguen, which left to Louis a large proportion of his conquests, and put it in his power to renew the war when he pleased with every advantage.

It is not to be denied, that the opposition in parliament this year played the game of the king of France, and thwarted all the efforts of Temple and Danby to urge the king into a war which was equally for the honour and interest of England. It is also well known, that the lords Hollis and Russell, and the other leaders of the country-party, were in actual communication with Barillon and Ruvigni, and arranged with them the plan of operations in parliament. These are points which demand some inquiry and explanation.

The country-party had a violent distrust of the king, who they well knew was bent on making himself absolute, and perhaps on changing the religion of the nation; they

also knew that he looked to the money or the arms of Louis for aid in accomplishing his designs : it was therefore their object to deprive him of this support, and they probably thought that a few fortresses in Flanders were not to be put in the balance with the British constitution. On the other hand, Louis acted on the usual maxims of state-policy, and he wished to see his neighbours weak rather than strong ; he had therefore no vehement desire that Charles should be absolute or the nation catholic : he was of course as little desirous of beholding a republic in England. What he wanted was, jealousy and disunion between the king and people, so that he might be able to play the two parties against each other, and thus be free from interruption from England in his project of extending the frontier of France to the Rhine, and establishing a dictatorship over the rest of Europe. For this purpose he had, in the beginning of the reign of Charles, kept up a communication with the commonwealth-men ; then, seeing a prospect of the king's becoming his stipendiary and vassal, he entered into close relations with him ; but the marriage of the princess Mary having proved to him that no reliance could be placed on Charles, he resolved to try to form a connexion with the popular leaders. For this purpose, Ruvigni, who was a protestant and first-cousin to lady Russell, came over in the month of March, and he took occasion to assure Russell and Hollis, that his master did not at all conceive it to be for his interest that the king should be absolute, and that he was ready to aid in causing a dissolution of the parliament. They agreed, on their side, to take care that the grants of supplies should be clogged with such conditions as to be so disagreeable to the king that he would prefer a reunion with France to accepting them. Ruvigni offered to spend a considerable sum in the purchase of members' votes, and begged of Russell to name those who might be gained over. He replied, that he should be sorry to have to do with people who could be bought. He at the same time gave it as his opinion, that there was no chance of a

dissolution but through the king of France, whose aid for that purpose Ruvigni freely promised. Nothing could in fact exceed the straits in which the popular party then were; they knew if the king could get an army at his devotion, he would destroy their liberties; they were dubious of the king of France, and yet he alone could aid them: we therefore need not wonder at their falling into a course of tortuous policy, which, though morally wrong, is what those who engage in politics in difficult times can hardly ever escape. That nothing injurious to the country and constitution was intended, the names of Russell and Hollis are a sufficient warrant*.

* See Appendix (G).

CHAPTER XV.

CHARLES II. (CONTINUED).

1678—1680.

Popish plot.—Sir Edmondbury Godfrey.—The Plot.—Impeachment of Danby.—Parliament dissolved.—Trials.—New parliament.—Trials.—Persecution in Scotland.—Murder of archbishop Sharp.—Battle of Bothwell-bridge.—Efforts of Shaftesbury.—Meal-tub plot.—Bill of exclusion.—Trial and execution of lord Stafford.

THE kingdom was now at peace, but the army was still on foot; the country-party were dejected, and began to think that further resistance to the court was hopeless. In this state of things, during the recess of Parliament, the Popish Plot, as it was named, came to fill the nation with alarm.

On the 12th of August, as the king was walking in the Park, a person named Kirby, who used to assist him in his chemical laboratory, came up to him and said, "Sir, keep within the company; your enemies have a design upon your life, and you may be shot within this very walk." On being questioned, he said that two men, named Grove and Pickering, had undertaken to shoot him, and sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, to poison him. He gave as his authority one Dr. Tonge, rector of St. Michael's, Wood-street. This Tonge was a weak, credulous man, and a great alarmist on the subject of popery, against which he published tracts every year. In the evening Tonge was brought to the king, to whom he showed a written narrative of the plot, divided into forty-three heads. He was sent to lord Danby; he said that the narrative had been thrust under his door; that he knew not the author, but had a clue which might enable him to discover him. In a few days he returned, and said, he had met the author in

the street, who had given him a fuller account, but required that his name should be concealed for fear of the papists. As Danby insisted on seeing some of the papers mentioned in the narrative, after some delay and evasion he was told, that on a certain day a packet of letters, addressed to Beddingfield, a jesuit, the duke's confessor, would arrive at the post-office at Windsor. Danby hastened down to intercept them ; but they had already come to hand, and Beddingfield, seeing that they were not the writing of those whose names they bore, and that they contained suspicious matter, showed them to the duke, who took them to the king. Charles at once recognised in the writing a similarity to that of the narrative, and expressed his belief of their being forgeries.

After some days, the person from whom Tonge professed to derive his information came forward. This was a man named Titus Oates, son to a weaver, who having turned anabaptist preacher, and been chaplain to colonel Pride, had after the restoration obtained orders in the established church. He sent his son Titus to Cambridge, where, having finished his studies, he took orders and became a curate, but being indicted for perjury on some occasion, he got to be chaplain in the navy. Here, however, he was charged with an odious offence, and was obliged to quit the ship. He then managed to be appointed as one of the duke of Norfolk's chaplains, where meeting with many popish priests, he became a real or pretended convert to their faith. He was sent over to St. Omers, and thence to Spain, whence he was just returned to England. He had long been acquainted with Tonge, by whom and Kirby he was now chiefly supported.

At the urgent desire of the duke to have the matter sifted to the bottom, the king consented to have Oates examined before the council. Previously to appearing there, Oates went before a magistrate named sir Edmondbury Godfrey (Sept. 6), and made oath to the truth of the narrative, which was now extended to eighty-one articles. He

appeared before the council (28th) in a new suit of clothes and a clergyman's gown, and deposed to the following effect.

The jesuits had resolved by all means to re-establish the catholic religion in the British dominions; they were organising a rebellion and massacre in Ireland; in Scotland, disguised as presbyterian ministers, they were opposing episcopacy: here they proposed to assassinate the king, and then to offer the crown to the duke, provided he would consent to hold it of the pope, and aid in extirpating protestantism; if not, *To pot James must go*, was their expression. They had abundant funds, having 100,000*l.* in bank, 60,000*l.* a-year in rents, etc. Father Leache [La Chaise], the French king's confessor, had given them 10,000*l.*, and they were promised an equal sum from Spain. In March last, two men, named Honest William [Grove] and Pickering (the last a lay-brother of the order), were often directed to shoot the king with silver bullets at Windsor, for which the former was to have 1500*l.* the latter 30,000 masses; and on their neglecting to do so, William had been reprimanded, and Pickering had received twenty lashes on his bare back. On the 24th of April there had been a great meeting of the jesuits at the White-horse tavern, by St. Clement's in the Strand, to deliberate on the assassination of the king; and two Benedictines, named Coniers and Anderton, and four Irishmen, whose names he knew not, were added to the former two: 10,000*l.*, and afterwards 15,000*l.*, had been offered to Wakeman, the queen's physician, to poison the king, and he had reason to believe he had undertaken it. He had also learned, since his return, that the jesuits had caused the fire in 1666, on which occasion they had expended seven hundred fireballs; and they would then have murdered the king, but they relented when they witnessed his zeal and humanity. They had secured, amidst the conflagration, diamonds to the value of 14,000*l.*; ten years after they had made 2000*l.* by setting fire to Southwark, and

they now had a plan for burning Westminster, Wapping, and the shipping. Finally, the pope had lately issued a bull appointing to all the dignities in the church of England, as the catholic religion was sure to triumph as soon as the king was taken out of the way.

Next morning (29th) Oates was again brought before the council. As it was objected to the Windsor letters, that they were in feigned hands, badly spelt, and without any punctuation, he said that such was the practice of the jesuits, that they might say they were forgeries if they were discovered, but that their correspondents knew the secret. As he said he had been introduced to Don John at Madrid, he was desired to describe him. He said he was a tall, thin, dark man. The king, who had often seen him, knew that he was short, fat, and fair. He was also asked where he saw father La Chaise pay the money; he replied, "In the jesuits' house close to the palace." "Man," cried the king, "the jesuits have no house within a mile of the Louvre."

It is to be observed, that though Oates, by his own account, had feigned to be a convert with the sole purpose of discovering the secrets of the jesuits and betraying them; though, as he said, he was so highly in their confidence that numerous documents had been in his hands; he had not retained a single one of them, and there was nothing but his bare assertion for the truth of the incredible facts which he related. His only chance, therefore, was that something confirmatory might be found among the papers of those who were committed on his information, and here fortune stood his friend.

Among those named by Oates was Coleman, the secretary of the duchess of York. Coleman, the son of a protestant clergyman, had become a catholic; this naturally gained him the favour of the duke of York; and, with the usual zeal of a convert, he exerted himself to the utmost for the advancement of his new creed. For this and for

other purposes he was in correspondence with La Chaise and his successor in office, St. Germain. When, therefore, he heard of his danger, he put all his papers out of the way; but he unluckily forgot a drawer containing his correspondence in 1674 and two following years, which was found. In one of these letters he says, "We have here a mighty work upon our hands, no less than the conversion of three kingdoms, and by that, perhaps, the utter subduing of a pestilent heresy, which has a long time domineered over a great part of this northern world. There were never such hopes of success, since the days of our queen Mary, as now in our days. God has given us a prince who is become (I may say by miracle) zealous of being the author and instrument of so glorious a work. But the opposition we are sure to meet with is also like to be great, so that it imports us to get all the aid and assistance we can." Elsewhere he says, "I can scarce believe myself awake, or the thing real, when I think of a prince, in such an age as we live in, converted to such a degree of zeal and piety as not to regard anything in the world in comparison of God Almighty's glory, the salvation of his own soul, and the conversion of our poor kingdom." In other places he speaks of the interests of the crown of England being inseparable from those of France and the catholic religion, and he describes the king as inclined to favour the catholics, but at the same time as being thoroughly venal.

When we consider this language of Coleman, and add to it the other proofs which we possess, we think we may venture to say that the following assertion of Hallam is perfectly correct:—"There was really and truly a popish plot in being, though not that which Titus Oates and his associates pretended to reveal, but one alert, enterprising, effective, in direct operation against the established protestant religion in England. In this plot the king, the duke of York, and the king of France were chief conspira-

tors ; the Romish priests, and especially the jesuits, were eager co-operators*."

The mysterious disappearance of sir Edmondbury Godfrey next came to increase the public alarm. Godfrey, as we have seen, was the magistrate who had taken Oates's deposition. Though he was a zealous protestant, he was on good terms with the catholics, particularly Coleman, whom he had warned of his danger. He seems to have had an idea that some mischief would befall him on account of this business, for Dr. Lloyd, the rector of his parish, heard him say, "I am told I shall be knocked on the head;" and he said the same to Dr. Burnet. To a gentleman who asked him if he had any hand in taking the informations touching the plot, he replied in the affirmative, adding, "I know not what will be the consequence of them, but I believe I shall be the first martyr." To another he said, "I must not talk much, for I lie under ill circumstances. Some great men blame me for not having done my duty, and I am threatened by others, and very great ones too, for having done too much."

On Saturday morning (Oct. 12) Godfrey left his home at an early hour, and went to different parts of town. He was met in St. Martin's-lane by persons, of whom he inquired the way to Paddington-woods ; he was seen by others in Soho and Marylebone-fields. He was in the Strand at one o'clock, and was afterwards seen in Lincoln's-Inn fields, and a person supposed to be him was seen in Red-Lion fields, and on the way to Primrose-hill, and finally in a field near that hill.

His absence from home (for he did not return) caused great uneasiness to his family and friends, and various conjectures were made to account for it. Some thought he was gone out of the way from his creditors ; others gave out that he was married, and "that not very decently," or that he was run away with a harlot ; but the

* Const. Hist., ii. 570.

most prevalent report was that he was murdered by the papists. For some days no account could be got of him; but on Thursday evening (17th), as two men were going toward the White-house at Primrose-hill, they saw a cane and pair of gloves lying on a bank by a ditch, and, on searching further, they found in the ditch the dead body of a man, with a sword run through him. His rings were on his fingers, and his money was in his pocket. There was a double crease round his neck, which was so limber that the face might be turned round to the shoulder. The body was at once recognised to be that of the missing justice. A coroner's jury, swayed by the opinions of two ignorant surgeons, brought in a verdict that he had been strangled, and it was supposed that the assassins had run his own sword through him, that he might be supposed to have killed himself. That the papists had done the deed, was a point about which few had any doubt, and those who had, thought it most prudent to confine their suspicions to their own bosoms.

The plain truth, however, appears to be, that in this instance the unfortunate papists were perfectly innocent, and that Godfrey died by his own hand. There was an hereditary melancholy in his family, and for some days before his disappearance a strangeness in his manner and behaviour had been observed. The apprehension of being brought into some trouble on account of having taken the deposition of Oates probably led to the catastrophe. As by the law the property of a *Felo de se* was forfeit to the crown, it was the interest of his brothers to have it believed that he was murdered. The report, laying the guilt on the papists, was traced to them; they kept back important evidence; and they dealt with the coroner and the surgeons. It is, however, not to be supposed that they foresaw the judicial murders that were to ensue*.

* See L'Estrange's 'Brief History of the Times, etc.,' part iii., where all the depositions are given.

When parliament met (21st), the ferment was great. The king's usual application for money was neglected; but an address was voted, praying him to appoint a solemn day of fasting and humiliation for imploring the Divine protection for himself and his loyal subjects. A second address followed, for the removal of all popish recusants from London and its vicinity, and proclamations were made accordingly. Committees, with extensive powers, were appointed to search out the plot. The country-party, animated and directed by Shaftesbury, became now omnipotent in both houses. Full credit was given to everything Oates asserted; and he now added, that the pope, treating England as his kingdom, had appointed to all the great offices, civil and military: lord Arundel was to be chancellor, lord Powis treasurer, lord Bellasis commander-in-chief, with lord Petre for his lieutenant, sir Francis Radcliffe his major, and Lambert his adjutant-general; lord Stafford was to be paymaster-general, sir W. Godolphin privy-seal, and Coleman secretary of state. Similar arrangements were made for Ireland. Some of those named were it was well known disabled by age, others by infirmity, but these objections were unheeded; warrants were issued against them all, and the lords Arundel, Powis, Stafford, Petre, and Bellasis were committed to the Tower*. Both houses finally passed a resolution (31st), that "there had been, and still was, a damnable

* No one can give credit to Oates, yet the following passage in Burnet (ii. 159) is curious. We do not believe either him or Tillotson capable of inventing a wilful falsehood. "Tillotson," says he, "told me that Langhorn's wife, who was still as zealous a protestant as he was a papist, came oft to him and gave him notice of every thing she could discover among them, though she continued a faithful and dutiful wife to the last minute of her husband's life. Upon the first breaking out of the plot, before Oates had spoken a word of commissions or had accused Langhorn, she engaged her son in some discourse upon those matters, who was a hot indiscreet papist. He said their designs were so well laid that it was impossible they should miscarry, and that his father would be one of the greatest men in England, for he had seen a commission from the pope constituting him advocate-general. This he told me in Stillingfleet's hearing."

and hellish plot, contrived and carried on by the popish recusants, for the assassinating and murdering the king, and for subverting the government, and rooting out and destroying the protestant religion."

On the last day of the month the funeral of sir Edmond-bury Godfrey took place, at St. Martin's-in-the-fields. Seventy-two of the London clergy, in their gowns, walked two and two before the coffin, and it was followed in the same order by more than one thousand gentlemen in mourning, of whom many were members of parliament. The funeral-sermon was preached by Dr. Lloyd, the rector. At each side of him stood a tall athletic clergyman, for his protection. His text was, "As a man falleth before the wicked, so fellest thou;" and he endeavoured to show that Godfrey had been murdered by the catholics on account of his zeal in discharging the duties of his office.

Oates was now styled 'The Saviour of his Country:' he had lodgings assigned him at Whitehall, with a pension of 1200*l*. No one ventured to call the truth of the plot into question. All precautions were adopted against the rising of the catholics which he had announced: the trained-bands were constantly on duty, the guards were doubled at the palace, the city put up its posts and chains, in order to be prepared for defence*.

A reward of 500*l*. having been offered for the murderer of Godfrey, a letter came the day after the funeral to the secretary of state, dated from Newbury, requesting that William Bedloe, the writer of it, might be arrested at Bristol and conveyed to London. This was done accordingly, and Bedloe was examined in presence of the king, (Nov. 7). He said that he had seen the body of Godfrey at Somerset-house (the residence of the queen), where he had been smothered between pillows by two jesuits, and that he had been offered two thousand guineas to help to remove

* If North may be believed (Examen, p. 206), sir Thomas Player, the city chamberlain, said to the citizens, that "he did not know but that next morning they might all rise with their throats cut."

it. At a subsequent examination (11th) he said that Godfrey had been inveigled into Somerset-house about five in the evening, and there strangled with a linen cravat. But it happened that at that very hour the king was visiting the queen, and the place was full of guards, and the room in which he said he saw the body was that appropriated to the queen's footmen, who were always in it. At first, too, he knew nothing of the plot; but, having read Oates's narrative, his memory brightened, and he called to mind many circumstances which he had learned from English monks, nuns, and other religious persons, whom he had met on the continent, all corroborating it.

Bedloe was, if possible, more infamous than Oates. He had been originally a servant of lord Bellasis; he had travelled, chiefly as a courier, over much of the continent; had been guilty of many acts of robbery and swindling, had been often the inmate of a prison, and was but lately come out of Newgate.

The popular leaders had caused a bill, for a test which would exclude catholics from parliament and from the royal presence, to pass the commons (Oct. 28). While it was in the house of lords, an address was moved there by Shaftesbury, and in the commons by lord Russell, for excluding the duke of York from the presence and councils of the king. The efforts to have it rejected in the commons having proved abortive, the duke, at his brother's desire, resigned his place at the council-board; and Charles then having addressed the two houses in complacent terms, the lords resumed the discussion of the bill, and it was passed, with a proviso that it should not extend to the duke of York (30th). By this bill twenty catholic peers lost their seats, and for a century and a half their descendants continued to be excluded.

The two informers (urged, as was suspected, by the enemies of the duke, who wished to revive the project of a royal divorce,) now proceeded to accuse the queen. Oates swore that, going one time with some jesuits to Somerset-

house, he remained in the antechamber while they went in to the queen, and, as the door was ajar, he heard her exclaim, "I will no longer suffer such indignities to my bed. I am content to join in procuring his death, and the propagation of the catholic faith." Yet, when sent to Somerset-house, he could not find the room in which he had been. Bedloe too deposed to a conference between the queen, lord Bellasis, and some jesuits and other priests, which he had overheard. Oates appeared at the bar of the commons (28th), and in a loud voice cried, "I, Titus Oates, accuse Catherine, queen of England, of high-treason." An address was voted to remove the queen and her attendants from Whitehall; but the lords, having examined the two witnesses, positively refused to concur in it, and the absurd and unfounded charge was dropped. The king in this matter behaved well, and expressed his determination not to let her be oppressed. He told Burnet that, "considering his faultiness to her in other respects, he thought it a horrible thing to abandon her."

The impeachment of lord Danby, which had long been a-brewing, was now effected. Montague, the ambassador at Paris, came over, without asking permission, and got himself chosen a member of the house of commons. His object was the ruin of Danby, and he entered into relations for this purpose with the popular leaders and with Barillon, from which last he was to receive 100,000 crowns in case of success. Danby, having had secret information of his project, and knowing that he had documents which might be used to his injury, got an order of council for the seizure of his papers; Montague, however, had secured the most important one, and it was read before the house. This was a letter from Danby to him on the 25th of March, during the negotiations for peace, directing him to offer to Louis the king's good offices in procuring such a peace as would be for his advantage, on condition of receiving 6,000,000 of livres a-year for a term of three years, as it was likely to be so long before parliament would be in the humour to

grant supplies. Nothing could be more repugnant to Danby's feelings than a business of this kind, but the love of place, or an erroneous sense of the duties of his office, had induced him to give way ; and the king, to satisfy him, wrote at the bottom, "This letter is writ by my order. C. R." When this circumstance is considered, when it is added that Montague himself appears to have suggested the project, and that he stipulated for reward with the French agent, and broke through all the principles of honour, few greater instances of political turpitude will perhaps be found. The house, however, heeded not anything but their passions : they discerned another link of the chain of popish machinations, and they voted an impeachment of the lord-treasurer (Dec. 19) for, 1. traitorously arrogating to himself regal power by treating with foreign courts without the knowledge of the council ; 2. endeavouring to subvert the constitution by keeping up a standing army ; 3. negotiating a peace in favour of France to the prejudice of England, that he might receive money from France for keeping up that army ; 4. being popishly inclined, and having concealed the popish plot ; 5. having wasted the royal treasure ; 6. having obtained for himself grants from the crown. Though the words *treason* and *traitorously* were used liberally in these charges, the lords plainly saw that the treasurer's guilt, if any, did not go beyond a misdemeanor ; and his defence of himself was able and cogent ; they therefore refused to commit him. At the desire of the treasurer, the king then (30th) prorogued the parliament to the 4th of February, and during the prorogation it was dissolved (Jan. 24, 1679).

Thus, after a duration of nearly eighteen years, ended the second and last Long Parliament. It had been elected in the full intoxication of loyalty consequent on the restoration, and at first it seemed inclined to free the royal authority from all limitations whatever ; but time had cooled its fervour. The jealousy on the subject of the public liberties, which has never been extinct, had revived ; the

protestant feeling, then characteristic of the nation, had been alarmed; and, instead of a submissive body of loyalists, it had become an assembly suspicious of the court, and not to be managed by intrigue or daunted by power.

The courts of law were meantime proceeding in the trials of those charged by Oates and Bedloe with being concerned in the plot. Space does not allow of our entering into the details; suffice it to say, that the witnesses against them were in general men of the worst character; that chief-justice Scroggs and his brethren on the bench acted with the most flagrant partiality and injustice, always assuming the guilt of the accused, aiding the witnesses for the crown when embarrassed, explaining away their contradictions, and browbeating, sneering at, and insulting those for the defence; and that consequently conviction was no proof whatever of guilt.

Coleman was the first tried (Nov. 27): the witnesses against him were Oates and Bedloe, and his own letters. In the eyes of the court and jury Oates's testimony was not invalidated by his not having even known the person of the prisoner when first confronted with him. Coleman was found guilty, and died (Dec. 3), asserting his innocence to the last.

Grove, Pickering, and a jesuit named Ireland were next brought to trial (17th). Though the last made it clear that he was in Staffordshire when Oates swore he was in London, it availed him not: "You have done, gentlemen," said Scroggs to the jury, "like very good subjects and very good Christians, that is to say, like very good protestants; and now much good may their thirty thousand masses do them," alluding to Pickering's reward. These men also died asserting their innocence (Jan 14, 1679).

Hill, Green, and Berry, persons employed at Somerset-house, were charged by Bedloe with the murder of Godfrey. As the law required two witnesses, one Miles Prance, a catholic silversmith, whom Bedloe had also charged, was treated with so much rigour in Newgate, and so worked on

by promises and threats, that he was at last induced to confess his guilt, and appear as a witness against the other prisoners (Feb. 10). Bedloe's evidence and his contradicted each other in the grossest manner, but this was of no avail to the accused. The three were condemned and executed, protesting their innocence to the last. Berry, it is to be observed, died a protestant.

An auxiliary to Oates and Bedloe had appeared in the person of one Carstairs, a profligate Scot. He swore that in an eating-house near Covent Garden, he heard Staley, a catholic banker, say in French to another person, that the king was a rogue, and that he himself would stab him if no one else would. It was probably at first only a project to frighten money out of the banker, for Carstairs and another waited on him next day, and offered to hush up the matter for 200*l*. Staley only laughed at the charge. They then resolved to go through with the business; and he was seized, brought to trial forthwith, found guilty on their evidence, and hanged. When Burnet first heard of this business, he lost no time in informing the chancellor and attorney-general of the infamy of Carstairs's character, but the latter took it ill of him to disparage, as he said, the king's evidence*.

At the elections for the new parliament, the court candidates were almost everywhere rejected. To express the slightest doubt of the plot deprived a man of all chance of a seat, and the new parliament therefore, it was expected, would prove still more unmanageable than the last. As a means of averting the storm which he saw preparing, the king commissioned the primate and some other prelates to make an attempt to bring back his brother to the protestant faith: but all their efforts were vain on the sullen obstinate mind of the duke, and Charles then required him

* Dr. Lingard adds, "and the timid divine shrunk from the frown of the barrister, and left the unfortunate man to his fate;" for which he has no authority in Burnet's narrative. The odious spirit of theological and political rancour will not allow any merit to a protestant divine and a whig.

to quit the country for a time. To this James consented, provided the king gave him a written order for that purpose, and also a solemn promise not to sacrifice his rights in his absence to the duke of Monmouth. Charles gave the order in an affectionate letter, and then solemnly declared before the council that he had never given any contract of marriage, or married any woman but his queen. He subscribed this declaration, and ordered it to be enrolled in chancery. The duke then set out with his family for Brussels (Mar. 4).

As soon as the duke was gone, the parliament met (6th). Seymour, the former speaker, was re-chosen; the king rejected him, and proposed another; the commons insisted on *their* right, the king on *his*: the dispute was terminated by appointing a third person. Henceforth it became a principle, that the house should choose, but that the crown may reject the speaker presented to it.

The commons now prepared to proceed with the impeachment of Danby; but the king having previously dismissed him from his office, summoned the two houses to his presence, and told them that what Danby had done had been by *his* orders, and he had therefore granted him a pardon, and would do so a dozen times if necessary; but that at the same time he had seen reason to exclude him from his presence and council. The commons however viewed this pardon as illegal, and resolved to proceed; the lords, fearful of opposing them, directed that the earl should be taken into custody. Danby concealed himself at Whitehall; the lords passed a bill for his banishment, but the commons rejected it and passed one for his attainder unless he surrendered against a certain day: the lords altered it; the commons were determined, and the lords had to give way again, and pass the bill of attainder. Danby then surrendered (Apr. 16), and was committed to the Tower. Some days later (25th) he gave in his answer, denying the charges and pleading the pardon which he had received from the king. The commons acted with

great and indecent violence ; the peers vacillated ; a prorogation took place, and the impeachment was never renewed, though it was not till the year 1683 that the earl was admitted to bail.

This nobleman who plays so important a part in our history was a statesman of the Clarendon school. He belonged to the old cavalier party, and therefore was for keeping the prerogative at a high strain. But like that party he was sincerely attached to protestantism, and he therefore would not abet the royal projects in favour of popery ; he was also cordially opposed to the French influence, though, as we have seen, he yielded somewhat on this point to the wishes of the king. It should never be forgotten that he was the chief promoter of the marriage of the princess Mary to the prince of Orange.

At this time the king, acting under the advice of sir William Temple, made a completely new organisation of his council. It was now to consist of thirty members (instead of fifty as before), one half to be the great officers of state, the remainder the leading popular members in both houses, so chosen that the annual income of the members of the council should amount to 300,000*l.*, to balance that of the commons, which was estimated at 400,000*l.* ; for it was then a maxim in politics, that influence invariably follows property. It was expected that the hostility of the popular leaders would thus be mitigated, and with this view Charles himself nominated Shaftesbury president of the council.

The hopes of the king however were deceived ; the protestant spirit of the commons was not to be lulled, and Shaftesbury continued to direct their movements. A resolution minatory of the duke of York having been voted unanimously by the commons (Apr. 27), Charles, in order to divert the blow which he saw coming, proposed such limitations on the power of a popish successor as seemed to leave him without the means of doing mischief. But the commons took no notice of the proposal, and the com-

mittee which they had appointed to search for evidence against the duke having made their report, they proceeded (May 15) to bring in a bill for excluding him from the throne; and notwithstanding the efforts of the court-party the duke's friends, and the supporters of hereditary right, it was passed (21st) by a majority of seventy-nine.

The passing of this vote secretly determined the king to get rid of his house of commons without delay. There were several of their other measures which showed the spirit which actuated them. In their animosity to Danby, they had voted, that if any member of their house should without permission support the validity of his pardon, he should be accounted a betrayer of the liberties of Englishmen; and to diminish the influence of the crown in the house of peers, they maintained that the bishops had no right to sit and vote in capital cases. Their arguments however were refuted, and it was decided that in such cases the prelates have a right to stay in court "till the question of guilty or not guilty were put." The commons had moreover appointed a committee, of which the chief object was to discover the pecuniary corruption of the late parliament. The king accordingly, without advising with his council, prorogued the parliament (27th) for ten weeks. This proceeding so disconcerted Shaftesbury, that he openly vowed he would have the heads of those who advised it.

One most meritorious act distinguishes this parliament, and does credit to Shaftesbury, by whose influence it was passed. Hitherto the operation of the writ of *Habeas Corpus* had been so ineffective, that the boasted security which it offered, mostly proved illusory. By the *Habeas Corpus* act now passed, it was made imperative on the judges to grant the writ when applied for; the practice of sending persons to a prison beyond sea was abolished, and it was directed that every prisoner should be indicted in the first term after his committal, and tried in the succeeding term.

During the recess, the public attention was occupied with

more trials on account of the Plot. Five jesuits, named Whitebread (the provincial of the order), Fenwick, Gavan, Turner, and Harcourt, were placed at the bar; the witnesses against them were Oates, Bedloe, Prance, and a man named Dugdale, who had been steward to lord Aston, a catholic nobleman. The evidence against the prisoners was of the usual kind; in their defence they impeached the veracity of the witnesses; they produced sixteen students from St. Omers to prove that Oates was there at the time; he swore he was at the meeting of the jesuits in London. Against these Oates produced six or seven persons who swore that they had seen him in London at that very time. The court gave credit to these last, and the prisoners were all found guilty. The next day (14th) Langhorn, an eminent lawyer and the law-agent of the jesuits, was put on his trial. When he appeared in court, the crowd set up a hooting at him; his witnesses were insulted and beaten, and when the jury brought in their verdict of guilty, a shout of exultation was raised.

The jesuits were first executed (20th); they died solemnly asserting their innocence. Langhorn was respited for some time, in the hopes that he might be induced to make discoveries; but as he persisted in denying all knowledge of the plot, he shared the fate of the other victims (July 14).

Sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, and Corker, Marshal, and Rumby, Benedictine monks, were next put on their trial (18th). They had advantages however which the others had wanted. Though it was generally believed that the catholics held that it was lawful to lie for the good of their cause, the solemn protestations of their innocence made by those who were executed had produced a favourable impression on the minds of many; the cause of Wakeman moreover was in reality that of the queen, of whose innocence few could have a doubt. The king's feelings on this point were no secret, and Scroggs, now at length assuming the character of an impartial judge, treated Oates

and Bedloe as they deserved. The jury acquitted the prisoners, and the two baffled informers had the audacity to declare that they would never more give evidence in a court where Scroggs presided, and actually exhibited articles against him to the council.

Seven or eight priests were executed in different parts of England on the old laws for exercising their spiritual functions. Two of them are said to have been upwards of eighty years of age. As this practice had been connived at for so long a time, they surely should have got notice and been allowed to quit the kingdom. But the spirit of fanaticism (whether political or religious) is wild, impetuous, and overwhelming; no mounds of justice or equity can withstand it until it has spent its force. Perhaps when we consider how universal and strong was the belief in the Plot, and how artful the modes adopted by some profligate politicians to exaggerate its atrocity*, we shall find here, as in the civil war, grounds for admiring the freedom from blood-thirst characteristic of the English people.

We must now turn to a people of a different character. In Scotland, as we have more than once observed, every act of injustice or atrocity assumes a deeper die than in the southern part of the island. The religious persecutions of the reign of Charles exemplify this position.

When episcopacy was re-established in Scotland (1662), an act of indemnity containing nearly one thousand exceptions was introduced, and Middleton and his friends looked forward to a copious harvest of confiscations. The speedy disgrace of that profligate minister however averted the storm for a season. The bishops meantime held their synods; in the north the clergy in general submitted, but those of the west resolved not to acknowledge their juris-

* Sir W. Temple says, respecting the execution of the priests, "Upon this point lord Halifax and I had so sharp a debate, that he told me, if I would not concur in points that were so necessary for the people's satisfaction, he would tell every body I was a papist, affirming that the plot must be handled as if it were true, whether it was so or no."

diction. They proposed to offer a kind of passive resistance; but Middleton, in one of his drunken orgies at Glasgow, made an act of council for displacing all ministers who did not obtain induction from the prelates. Not less than three hundred and fifty ministers were in consequence ejected in the beginning of the winter, and they and their families were turned out of their houses, their stipends for the last year remaining unpaid. A set of ignorant vicious *curates* were brought up from the north to supply the vacant churches. But the people would not attend to them; they crowded every Sunday to the abode of their former pastor, and as that was generally too small to contain them, the conventicles began to be held in the open fields. To put an end to this practice, the council ordered the ejected clergy not to approach within twenty miles of their former parishes, and the people were forbidden under severe penalties to contribute to their support.

If Middleton was bad, his successor Lauderdale was still worse. The prelates now (1663) were dominant: severe acts were passed against the ejected clergy and their adherents, and a miniature inquisition, named an ecclesiastical commission, was appointed to enforce them. The jails were filled; numbers went over to Ulster; the lay-commissioners at length in disgust refused to act, and the odious commission was suffered to expire. But a severer scourge succeeded (1665). A body of troops, commanded by sir James Turner, a dissolute, ferocious Englishman, was sent into the west, to punish the people for deserting their churches. The curates were accusers, the soldiers judges; enormous fines were the penalties, which were exacted with rigour, accompanied by every species of insolence and insult. Numbers of the gentry as well as peasantry fled from their habitations, and took shelter in the mountains and moors. At length an incident, similar to what caused a secession in ancient Rome, gave occasion to an insurrection. An indigent old man being unable to pay the fines imposed on him, was bound and laid on the ground to be

conveyed to prison. The sight exasperated the peasantry ; they disarmed the soldiers and released him (Nov. 13, 1666). Despair now made them resolve on resistance ; others joined them ; they advanced to Dumfries (15th), where they surprised and captured Turner ; but on reading his instructions, and finding that, barbarous as he was, he had not acted up to them, they gave him his life. At Lanark, where their numbers amounted to two thousand, they renewed the covenant. They then advanced toward Edinburgh, and came within two miles of that city ; but finding preparations made for defence, and that their friends within could not join them as they had expected, they set out on their return home, their number being now reduced to eight or nine hundred. At the Pentland hills they were overtaken by general Dalziel (28th) ; they drew up on the summit of a hill ; their ministers preached and prayed to encourage them, and they sang the 78th Psalm. They repelled the first charge of the royal troops, but at sunset they broke and fled ; the darkness befriended them, and not more than one hundred and thirty were taken ; the slain did not exceed fifty. Cowardice is always cruel, and the two archbishops, who had been in the utmost consternation, now breathed nothing but vengeance : twenty of the captives were executed in Edinburgh as traitors ; thirty-five were hung at their own doors in the country. At length an order came down from court to stop the slaughter. Archbishop Burnet, who was the bearer of this order, had the barbarity to keep it back till Maccaill, a young preacher, had been executed, after undergoing with undaunted resolution the horrid torture of the *boot*. Maccaill's last words were, "Farewell, sun, moon, and stars ; farewell, kindred and friends ; farewell, world and time ; farewell, weak and frail body : welcome, eternity ; welcome, angels and saints ; welcome, Saviour of the world ; and welcome, God, the judge of all."

Dalziel and Drummond, two brutal soldiers who had long been in the Muscovite service, were sent to the west ; Dalziel's threats to spit and roast men were justified by

his deeds. Some persons were put to death on the highway without trial, others were tortured by having lighted matches fastened to their fingers; a son was executed for refusing to discover his father; a wife was tortured till she died for aiding her husband to escape. Rape, robbery, and murder desolated the unhappy country for the space of seven months. The clergy abetted all the excesses of the soldiery, whom they caressed as their friends and patrons, and they spoke of the present times as a golden age.

A change in the Scottish ministry (1667) brought some repose to the country; but with the return of Lauderdale to Scotland (1669) the persecution was renewed. The laws against conventicles acquired new vigour, and these in their turn assumed a more formidable appearance, as those who attended carried arms for their defence, and frequent affrays took place between them and the military. The Scottish law having a civil excommunication, similar to the *Interdictio aquæ et ignis* of the Roman law, named Letters of Intercommuning, these were issued in great numbers against those who were known to frequent conventicles or absent themselves from church; among whom were not only ministers and gentlemen, but even ladies of distinction. These and the other severities drove many to adopt a vagrant life, and gradually to acquire the feelings and habits of outlaws.

Some years before, an attempt had been made on the life of Sharp. The assassin had escaped; but six years after, Sharp, observing a man to eye him frequently, thought that he recognised the features of the person who had fired at him. The man was arrested; he proved to be a fanatic preacher named Mitchel. On the solemn promise of Sharp and the council that his life should be safe, he confessed the attempt on the archbishop. It was proposed to cut off his hand; but having got a hint from a friendly or humane judge not to confess in court unless his limbs were secured as well as his life, he baffled the vengeance of the primate. A pretext, however, was made for putting him to the tor-

ture, and he was then confined in the prison on the Bass-rock, where he languished for four years. His trial was then renewed at the instance of Sharp, who with Lauderdale, Rothes, and Hatton did not scruple to declare on oath that no promise of life had been made to him. A copy of the act of council was produced; but Lauderdale refused to allow the books in which it was registered (and where it still remains, a witness of their baseness and perjury,) to be examined, and the court condemned the prisoner. Lauderdale would have respited him, but the primate was inexorable; "Nay, then," said Lauderdale scoffingly, "let him glorify God in the Grass-market," (the usual place of execution,) and the prisoner was executed without delay.

The great object of the king was, as we have seen, to obtain a standing army, as the only sure step to arbitrary power. Lauderdale had in compliance with this desire raised an army in Scotland; but it was necessary to have a pretext for keeping it up, and there is strong reason to suspect that it was concerted at court to drive the Scottish fanatics into insurrection with this view. Accordingly the landlords in the west were required to enter into bonds for the good conduct of all persons on their lands with respect to conventicles, etc., and on their refusal, Lauderdale declared the western counties in a state of revolt. Troops were therefore marched on all sides toward them, and by the express orders of the king a body of six thousand ferocious Highlanders were invited from their mountains and in the middle of winter (1678) let loose on the unhappy counties to exercise all the atrocities of free quarters. Their ravages lasted for a space of three months, but failed to goad the people into rebellion.

At length the desired occasion was presented. One of the commissioners for suppressing conventicles, named Carmichael, had exercised great severities in Fife. Nine of those who had suffered lay in wait for him one day (May 3, 1679) on Magus-moor, near St. Andrew's, intending to fall on him while out hunting. But he had gotten in-

formation and retired to Cupar. When they were about to separate, a coach and six came in sight, and a boy cried out "There goes the bishop!" The fanatics saw the hand of God in this event, and believing that Heaven had thus delivered the arch-persecutor into their hands, they mounted their horses, and led by John Balfour, a violent enthusiast, they crossed the moor and came up with the carriage, in which were only Sharp and his daughter. They fired into it, and as their shots did not take effect they dragged their victim out; to his offers, remonstrances, and entreaties, they replied that they bore him no personal malice, but were only obeying the command of God. With their swords they barbarously slew him, and left his body on the road. They then retired to a neighbouring cottage, where they passed several hours in prayer.

Sharp may be called the Laud of Scotland. Like him, he was regular in his conduct in private life, a tyrant and a persecutor in public. But Sharp was an apostate and a traitor to those who had trusted him, and he seems to have had little religion of any kind. No one, we should hope, who has read the preceding History, will suspect us of being the apologists of crime; but we cannot avoid discerning the justice of Heaven, which permits even the irregular punishment of offenders who are not amenable to earthly tribunals.

Rewards were offered for the murderers, and conventicles were declared to be treasonous. The assassins were now in the west, where, in conjunction with one Hamilton, a preacher, they urged the people to resistance. On Friday the 29th of May, a party entered the burgh of Rutherglen and publicly burnt the acts restoring episcopacy. On the following Sunday, Graham of Claverhouse, with three troops of horse, attacked their conventicle at Drumclog by Loudon-hill, but was repulsed with the loss of thirty of his men. The troops abandoned Glasgow to the covenanters, whose numbers gradually swelled; but the time which should be devoted to action was employed in

religious controversy, and those whose only hopes lay in union were split into parties.

When the news reached London, the duke of Monmouth was sent down as commander-in-chief. His first instructions were, to treat or to fight; but Lauderdale induced the king secretly to alter them, and to direct him not to treat, but to attack the rebels wherever they were found. Monmouth advanced from Edinburgh at the head of ten thousand men; he found (June 21) the whigs, to the number of four or five thousand, posted at Bothwell-bridge, near Hamilton, on the Clyde. They sent to treat, but were required to surrender at discretion. The bridge was defended for some time against the duke; but when his troops had crossed it, the insurgents broke and fled at the first discharge of cannon: four hundred were slain; twelve hundred surrendered; their lives were saved by the humanity of Monmouth, whose gentle and clement conduct in this expedition won the applause of even the fanatics themselves. On his return to court he became their advocate: but the influence of Lauderdale finally prevailed; the sanguinary and rapacious Claverhouse was let loose on the devoted country; and the court of justiciary almost ruined the gentry by unjust and enormous fines.

Soon after the return of Monmouth, the king, with the advice of lords Sunderland*, Essex and Halifax, dissolved the parliament (July 16). The following month he was attacked by a fever at Windsor, and by the advice of the same ministers and some other members of the council, who perhaps feared the influence of Shaftesbury if Monmouth should ascend the throne, he recalled the duke from Brussels (Aug. 23). James came without delay, travelling under a feigned name. The king was convalescent when he arrived, and it was soon after deemed advisable that both James and Monmouth should quit the kingdom.

* Robert Spencer earl of Sunderland was son of the earl of that name who was killed at the first battle of Newbury. His mother was lady Dorothy Sidney, daughter of lord Leicester, the *Sacharissa* of Waller's poetry.

They went to the Low Countries; but before long, the duke of York returned, and got permission to reside in Scotland, whither he repaired without delay.

When the new parliament met (Oct. 17), it presented the same composition as the preceding one, and Shaftesbury, whom the king had just deprived of his office in the council, looked forward to vengeance on the court by means of it: but to his dismay, the king prorogued it the very day it met; and successive prorogations prevented its re-assembling for a twelvemonth. Charles, before he ventured on this step, had agreed with Louis for a pension of a million of livres a year for three years, and thus thought himself independent. But the treaty had not been signed, and Louis now wanted to add some more conditions. These Charles rejected, and he had therefore no alternative but to follow the advice of his brother and economise his income; and this he endeavoured to do rather than meet his parliament.

Shaftesbury now tried various expedients to rouse the popular feeling. The old ceremony of burning the pope was performed in London (Nov. 17) with more than usual pomp and expense. Immediately after, Monmouth returned without permission; and though the king ordered him to depart and deprived him of all his employments, he remained in defiance of him and went on in his endeavours to gain the popular favour. A pamphlet called 'An Appeal from the Country to the City, etc.' was also put forth, in which the claims of Monmouth were warmly advocated, and great stress was laid on the maxim that "the worst title makes the best king."

But the grand expedient was, to pour in petitions from all parts to the king to allow the parliament to sit at the end of the first prorogation. To stem this torrent, when it began to appear formidable, the king put forth a proclamation (Dec. 12) threatening with punishment all who should subscribe petitions in any manner contrary to the law of the land. The immediate effect was extraordinary;

the dormant loyalty of the nation was awakened, and from all sides counter addresses poured in, expressing the deepest respect for the royal prerogative and *abhorrence* of the practices of those who sought to limit it. The two opposite parties were at first named Petitioners and Abhorrrers; but these soon gave place to the titles of Whigs and Tories, which have continued to designate the two rival parties in the state down to the present day. The popular party were called by their opponents Whigs, as being akin in their sentiments to the Scottish fanatics who were thus named; they retaliated by styling them Tories, as resembling the popish robbers of this name in Ireland.

The king was now emboldened to recall the duke of York to court (Jan. 28, 1680). Russell, Cavendish, Capel, and Powle forthwith tendered their resignation as members of the council, which the king said he accepted "with all his heart," speaking no doubt most sincerely. The duke's influence immediately appeared. There had long been great talk of a *black box*, containing the king's marriage contract with Monmouth's mother, said to have been left by the late bishop of Durham in charge of his son-in-law sir Gilbert Gerard, and that many persons had seen and read the contract. All these persons were now examined before the privy-council, and they disclaimed all knowledge of the box or the contract. Two royal declarations were then published, in which the king solemnly affirmed that he had never been contracted or married to any one but the queen.

Shaftesbury's next measure was a bold one. Accompanied by the earl of Huntingdon, the lords Russell, Cavendish, and others, among whom was Titus Oates, he went (June 26) to Westminster-hall and presented the duke of York to the grand jury for recusancy. He was defeated by a stratagem of the chief-justice, who suddenly dismissed the jury: but his principal object was attained; he convinced his party that he was resolved to seek no compromise with the duke.

While these various political intrigues were going on,

the lives of persons continued to be endangered on account of the Popish Plot. At this time lord Castlemain and the countess of Powis, wife of one of the catholic lords in the Tower, were accused by a man named Dangerfield, and sir Thomas Gascoygne and others of the catholic gentry of Yorkshire by one Bolton.

Dangerfield, a man of infamous character, like most of the informers, had been in the summer of the last year the author of what was called the Meal-tub Plot. This fellow, having become acquainted with one Mrs. Cellier, a catholic, who followed the profession of a midwife, conceived the idea of fabricating a plot of the presbyterians against the government. Mrs. Cellier, through lady Powis, introduced him to lord Peterborough, who brought him to the duke of York. That prince gave him twenty guineas, and he had forty from the king, with whom also he had an interview. At his instigation the revenue-officers were sent to search for smuggled lace in the lodgings of one colonel Mansel, who, he said, was to be quarter-master of the presbyterian army, and behind his bed they found a parcel of treasonable papers. As these were manifest forgeries, Dangerfield was committed to Newgate, and there he said that he had been bribed by the papists to forge the plot. and to assassinate the king and lord Shaftesbury. He asserted that documents corroboratory of his confession would be found hid in a *meal-tub* in Mrs. Cellier's house; and there they certainly were found. The juries however, both on her trial and on that of lord Castlemain, refused to give credit to Dangerfield. The whole affair is, as usual, involved in mystery; the catholics may have endeavoured to get up a counter-plot; the Monmouth-party may have sought by means of a sham-plot to cast odium on the duke of York. All parties at this time, in their anxiety about ends, were but too indifferent as to means.

The party opposed to the duke of York was now greatly increased in strength. Two of the ministers, Sunderland

and Godolphin*, had joined it; and the duchess of Portsmouth, menaced with impeachment, had, through lord Howard of Escrick, entered into the league, on condition of all proceedings being dropt. She was employed to offer the king, over whom she had great influence, a large sum of money and the power of naming his successor†.

When the time for the meeting of parliament drew nigh, the opponents of the duke of York laboured to impress on the king's mind the necessity of his return to Scotland. To this the duke was very adverse, as he knew that his presence encouraged his friends and kept his brother steady. He was however obliged to yield, and he departed (Oct. 20), the king having promised not to give up any of the rights of the crown, and to dissolve the parliament if it should attempt to impeach him. James, however, did not trust alone to the royal resolution; sooner than forego his right to the succession, he was prepared to rekindle the flames of civil war, and at the head of his partisans in the three kingdoms to bid the king defiance‡. Louis, constant to his plan of weakening England, directed Barillon to encourage him by offers of assistance.

The day after the duke's departure, the parliament met, and no time was lost in proceeding to the grand question of his exclusion from the throne. Dangerfield appeared before them (26th), and his account of the duke's knowledge of his forging the plot and encouraging him to kill the king, found real or affected belief. Lord Russell then

* Sidney Godolphin, a younger son of an ancient Cornish family. He was made one of the grooms of the bed-chamber after the Restoration. He was at this time a commissioner of the treasury. In 1684 he was created a baron. Godolphin married the beautiful and virtuous maid of honour Miss Blague, of whom Evelyn speaks so highly in his Memoirs.

† We may here observe the difference between the French and English women. None of the English mistresses engaged in political intrigues. It was the same with the queens: those of Edward II., Henry VI., and Charles I., were French, and were the ruin of their husbands.

‡ "Il est persuadé que l'autorité royale ne se peut rétablir en Angleterre que par une guerre civile." Barillon, Aug. 19, 1680.

moved a resolution "to take into consideration how to suppress popery and to prevent a popish successor." The resolution was unanimously adopted. On the succeeding days, a deposition of Bedloe made on his death bed was read, and Dugdale, Prance, and another witness were heard in proof of the duke's knowledge of the late plot, and the house voted (Nov. 2) that a bill should be introduced to disable the duke of York from succeeding to the crown.

Beside the thick-and-thin supporters of the court- and country-parties, there was in the house a third party, more respectable perhaps than either, named the 'Party-volant,' i. e. the independent members whose weight could incline the beam to either side. These united now with the whigs, and to intimidate the court-party, the same tactics were resorted to as in the beginning of the parliament of 1640. They caused petitions against their returns to be presented; and having voted that it is the undoubted right of the subjects to petition the king to call a parliament, as if it followed by natural consequence that they have no right to petition for the reverse, they forthwith fell on the Abhorers. They expelled sir George Withens, for having promoted one of the abhorrent petitions, and appointed a committee to inquire what other members had been guilty of a like offence. They frightened the recorder, sir George Jeffreys, a man afterwards so notorious, into a resignation of his office, which they procured for sir George Treby. Their officers were sent all through England to take Abhorers into custody. The nation seemed to be once more menaced with the yoke of an arbitrary parliament; but Mr. Stawell, a gentleman of Exeter, having refused to submit to the sergeant-at-arms, the commons discovered that they were exceeding their powers and they quietly receded from their pretensions.

The bill of exclusion was introduced on the 4th. It was supported by lord Russell and the other popular leaders; it was opposed by sir Leoline Jenkins, Laurence Hyde, Seymour, Temple, and others. The king sent a message

intimating that he would not consent to alter the succession ; but no notice was taken of it, and the bill passed (15th) by a large majority. Four days after it was carried to the lords by lord Russell. When he read out the title, those behind him gave a loud cheer. It was supported in the lords by Shaftesbury and Essex, and opposed by Halifax. The king canvassed for his brother: the bishops were true to the cause of the prerogative, and the bill was rejected by a majority of sixty-three to thirty*. Shaftesbury then proposed, "as the only remaining chance for liberty and religion," a bill of divorce. But to this Charles was as adverse as ever; he canvassed against it also, and it was not proceeded with.

The commons, to gratify their spleen, addressed the king to remove Halifax from his presence and councils; he replied, that he did not think they had given sufficient reasons for the adoption of that measure. They also impeached Seymour for malversation in his office of treasurer of the navy: his real offence was his vigorous opposition to the Exclusion-bill. Their next proceeding was of a more malignant character; they revived the impeachment against the venerable lord Stafford, one of the popish lords in the Tower.

The trial took place (Nov. 30) in Westminster-hall, which was fitted up for the occasion in the usual manner. The chancellor, Finch earl of Nottingham, acted as lord high-steward; Maynard, Winnington, Treby, and other lawyers were the managers on the part of the commons. Oates, Dugdale, and a new witness named Turberville were the principal witnesses against the accused. The trial lasted five days.

The managers commenced by endeavouring to establish the truth of the plot in general, and then to show that the prisoner was concerned in it. Oates swore that he saw

* Monmouth very indecorously voted openly for the bill, saying he knew no other way to preserve the life of the king from the malice of the duke of York. The king, in a loud whisper, likened this to the kiss of Judas.

Ireland deliver him a commission to be paymaster-general of the catholic army; Dugdale, that lord Stafford had offered him 500*l.* to kill the king; Turberville, that he had made a similar offer to himself at Paris. Lord Stafford, though a man of very moderate abilities, aided by the power of truth, made an able defence, and showed that the testimony of the witnesses abounded in contradictions and was not to be credited. On the last day (Dec. 4), the managers replied; and three days after the lords re-assembled to give sentence, and out of eighty-six peers, fifty-five pronounced him guilty. When brought in and informed of the result, he said, "God's holy name be praised! I confess I am surprised at it; but God's holy will be done and your lordships'; I will not murmur at it." He requested to have liberty to see his wife, children, and friends during the short time he had to live. His request was granted, and it was added that they would intercede with his majesty to remit all the sentence except the beheading. He burst into tears; "My lords," said he, "it is not your justice, but your kindness that makes me weep."

In the Tower he was visited, at his own desire, by the bishop of London and Dr. Burnet. He listened to their arguments on religious topics attentively, but said he had no time now for controversy, and they had the good sense not to urge him. He denied all knowledge of any design against the life of the king; but he said that he could discover many other things for which the duke would never forgive him. At his desire Burnet spoke to lord Essex, lord Russell, and sir William Jones, and they said that if he told what he knew of the designs of the papists, and "more particularly concerning the duke," they would endeavour to have him excused from confessing what related to himself. He said to Burnet, "What if I should name some who have now great credit, but had once engaged to serve their designs?" Burnet advised him to speak the whole truth.

Lord Stafford was immediately brought to the bar of the house of lords (18th). He related the various projects of the catholics for the security and advancement of their religion. As they conceived that this could only be effected by means of a toleration, he said that their last plan had been a coalition with the country-party, which was approved of both by the duke and lord Shaftesbury: but when he named the last, he was ordered to withdraw; the house would hear him no more. He was remanded to the Tower, and that very day the order for his execution was issued to the sheriffs. These were Bethel and Cornish, two Independents, and creatures of Shaftesbury. They questioned, it is not known why, the validity of the writ, as it was the house of lords, not the king, that had sentenced him. The lords, when applied to (21st), said "the king's writ ought to be obeyed:" but not satisfied with this, the sheriffs caused the commons to be asked whether the king or even the lords can order the execution? and whether the king can remit a part, or if a part why not the whole, of the sentence? The commons got over the difficulty by saying, that "the house was content that the sheriffs should execute William, late viscount Stafford, by severing his head from his body *only*." We fear, to the disgrace of our nature, that the mitigation of the sentence at the request of the peers, was the motive of these political and religious fanatics for questioning the undoubted right of the crown*.

Lord Stafford was beheaded (29th) on Tower-hill. When he first appeared a few groans and yells were raised; but the general conduct of the spectators was respectful, and most of them took off their hats. He spoke at some length

* Echard says that lord Russell was "one of those who, with the sheriffs, questioned the king's power in allowing that lord to be only beheaded;" and that on a similar melancholy occasion, Charles said, "My lord Russell will now see that I have a power to change his sentence." Fox expresses no doubt of the truth of this charge against lord Russell, which he ascribes to "his fear of the king's establishing a precedent of pardoning in cases of impeachment."

in vindication of his innocence, and the generous populace cried out, "We believe you, my lord. God bless you, my lord!" He laid down his head, and one stroke terminated his existence.

Of lord Stafford's innocence there cannot, we think, be even the shade of a doubt on any impartial mind. But the whig party are perhaps unjustly loaded with the odium of his death; for its true cause seems to have been the prevalent delusion which darkened even the clearest understandings. The whigs were, it is well known, a minority in the house of lords, which condemned him. The chancellor and the duke of Lauderdale and other ministers of the crown, it may be observed, voted him guilty, while Hollis and Halifax voted in his favour. Four of his own kinsmen, the Howards, voted against him; but another of them, lord Arundel, though at enmity with him, voted in the minority. As for the king, he showed the utmost indifference. The duke of York did perhaps all he could for the unfortunate nobleman.

CHAPTER XVI.

CHARLES II. (CONTINUED).

1681—1685.

Oxford parliament, and triumph of the court.—Execution of Oliver Plunket.—Duke of York in Scotland.—Surrender of charters.—Rye-house plot.—Trial and execution of lord Russell.—Oxford decree.—Trial and execution of Algernon Sidney.—Plans of the king;—his death and character.

THE proceedings of the commons in the present session strongly reminded men of the days of 1641. Thus they refused the king supplies unless he would assent to the exclusion-bill; they impeached four of the judges; they resolved that several persons, whom they named, ought to be removed from public employments; and that any member of their house who should accept a place, or the promise of one, should be expelled, etc. The king and his ministers became alarmed; a resolution was taken to prorogue the parliament, and it was finally dissolved (Jan. 18, 1681) and another summoned to meet two months thence at Oxford.

Oxford was selected from a recollection of the aid which the commons had derived from the city of London in 1641. A petition, signed by sixteen peers, against the holding of parliament in that city, was presented by lord Essex, but without effect. The king, to ensure his independence of the commons, entered into a new treaty with Louis for a pension for a term of three years. To this he had been strongly urged by the duke of York, who on his part was making every preparation for an appeal to arms.

When the day for the meeting of parliament drew nigh, the king set out for Oxford, guarded by a troop of horse. Most of the members who repaired thither were armed,

both themselves and their servants. Those of the city of London were followed by a train on horseback, with blue ribbons round their hats, inscribed with "No popery! no slavery!" The members returned to this parliament were in general those who had sat in the last.

The king being now in no dread of want of money, addressed the two houses (Mar. 21) in a tone of authority. He spoke in severe terms of the conduct of the late parliament, and declared that, as he would never act arbitrarily himself, he would not suffer others to do so; he expressed his rooted dislike to the exclusion-bill, but added, that he would be "ready to hearken to any expedient by which the religion might be preserved, and the monarchy not destroyed," in case of a popish successor. One of the first measures of the commons, however, was to bring in again the exclusion-bill, but the debate on it was deferred for a few days, and meantime another matter occurred to occupy their attention.

There was an Irish catholic, named Fitzharris, who by means of his cousin, a Mrs. Wall, who was in the service of the duchess of Portsmouth, had become connected with the court. He devoted himself to the discovery of the designs of the country-party, and his services were at one time rewarded by the king with a present of 250*l*. Probably with a view to a similar reward, Fitzharris resolved, in conjunction with one Everard, a Scotsman, to write a libel on the king and the duke of York. When it was written, Fitzharris hastened with a copy to his patroness, perhaps intending to denounce his coadjutor as the author; but the Scot had been too wily for him, having concealed sir William Waller, a magistrate, and two others, behind the hangings in the room where they were composing it. Fitzharris was therefore committed to Newgate; and now, seeing himself in real danger, he pretended that he could make important discoveries of the designs of the duke of York. The king, observing that the exclusionists were preparing to make use of him, had him removed to the

- Tower, and directed the attorney-general to indict him for treason. The commons, however, believing, or pretending, that this was a continuation of the popish plot, and that the object of the crown was to deprive them of the benefit of Fitzharris's revelations, determined on impeaching him before the lords. The peers, when the impeachment was brought up, decided not to entertain it; and the commons, in a fury, voted their so doing to be a denial of justice and a violation of the constitution.

That very day (26th) the debate on the exclusion-bill came on, and one of the ministers proposed the 'expedient' at which the king had hinted. This was, that the duke should only have the title of king, and be banished to a distance of five hundred miles from England, while the princess of Orange should administer the government as regent. After a long debate, the expedient was rejected, and it was resolved to proceed with the exclusion-bill. Two days after (28th), as they were engaged in the second reading, they were suddenly summoned to the house of lords. They found the king seated on the throne, and, after a brief address, he ordered the chancellor to dissolve the parliament. He then got into his carriage and hurried away to Windsor, leaving the opponents of the court filled with rage and dismay.

By this well-timed act of resolution and dexterity Charles completely overthrew the country-party. Their conduct now appeared to most men to have been purely factious, and calculated to convert the monarchy into a republic. Loyal addresses poured in from all quarters; the pulpits everywhere resounded with declamations in favour of the duke, and against the nonconformists. The declaration which the king put forth, stating the causes which induced him to dissolve the two last parliaments, was, on the proposal of Sancroft the primate, read out in all the churches.

The first proof which the court gave of its power was an order to the attorney-general to proceed with the trial of Fitzharris. He was found guilty, and executed at Ty-

burn (July 1). It would appear that he was dealt with by agents of the court to declare with his dying breath that he had been suborned by the recorder and sheriffs to make the depositions which he had made.

Fitzharris was a profligate scoundrel, and deserved his fate; but on the same day with him suffered a man of blameless and innocent life, sacrificed at the altar of the king's pretended zeal for protestantism. This was Oliver Plunket, titular prelate of Armagh in Ireland, accused of a share in what was called the Irish plot for setting up popery in that country by means of a French army. The witnesses against him were mostly priests whom he had censured for their lewdness and profligacy. Though five weeks were given him to bring over his witnesses, various circumstances concurred to delay them, and he had nothing to oppose to the evidence against him but his simple assertion. With his last breath he solemnly declared his innocence, and no one, we believe, has ever doubted of it. We cannot conceive any thing more appalling than the conduct of the king in signing the warrant for the death of this upright prelate, with no other view than the retention of his present popularity, for he had now no Shaftesbury and his party to fear: he had completely stricken down his foes.

The very next day Shaftesbury was committed to the Tower, and (such is mob-popularity!) he was hooted at as he passed thither by the rabble who so lately had adored him*. The witnesses against him were some of the scoundrels whom he had himself encouraged in the affair of the Irish plot. The court-party lent all the aid in their power to crush this formidable intriguer, and the witnesses swore most manfully; but the grand jury ignored the bill. The hall rang with shouts of applause, and bonfires and the ringing of bells succeeded (Nov. 24). It is true, that the sheriffs, who were of the country-party, had been careful

* So at least says James II. *Life*, i. 688.

in selecting the jury, but it is equally true that the evidence was utterly incredible.

The greater part of the gang of informers had now veered round to the court. On the trial of one College, Turberville and Dugdale were arrayed against Oates and others of the crew. College, named the Protestant Joiner, from his zeal and his trade, was charged with having gone armed to Oxford, in conjunction with others, with the design of seizing the person of the king. The London grand jury ignored the bill; but that of Oxfordshire having found a true bill against him, he was taken to Oxford, tried, condemned, and executed (Aug. 31). It is almost needless to add that he was innocent.

The prince of Orange came over this summer, and visited the king at Windsor (July 24). His objects were to induce his uncle to succour Holland and Flanders, and for that purpose to summon a parliament. He strongly, it is said, expressed his dislike of restrictions on the rights of the crown, but, with the king's permission, he undertook to confer on the subject with the popular leaders. What was the result of the conferences is not known. The prince was, as usual, invited to dine with the city; but the king, on being informed of it, summoned him down to Windsor, so that he was unable to take advantage of the invitation. After a short stay in England he returned to the Hague (Aug. 5)*.

During the last year there had been an outbreak of religious fanaticism in Scotland, which gave occasion to the exercise of the usual barbarities on the part of the government. Cargill and Cameron, two of the ministers who had escaped to the continent after the affair of Bothwell-bridge, having returned, collected some of their followers, who,

* The prince told Burnet that the king said to him, "he was confident, whenever the duke should come to reign, he would be so restless and violent, that he could not hold it four years to an end." Burnet, ii. 415, where see the note.

from the latter, have been named Cameronians. At Sanguhar (June 22), Cameron read, and then affixed to the market-cross, a declaration stating that Charles Stuart had, by his perjury and tyranny, forfeited all claim to their allegiance. About a month after (July 20) they and sixty or seventy of their followers were surprised by three troops of dragoons at Aiadsmoss, in Kyle. Cameron and his brother fell bravely fighting back to back; seven more were slain, and sixteen made prisoners, all of whom, of course, were executed. Cargill, who had escaped, soon after, at a conventicle in the Torwood, solemnly excommunicated their principal persecutors by name, the king himself included. The persecution was redoubled, and both men and women were executed. Tyranny was met by enthusiasm; and when the duke of York, on his return, offered their lives to the Cameronians, if on the scaffold they would cry "God bless the king!" the very women refused to lose the crown of martyrdom by compliance.

After the dissolution of the Oxford parliament, James obtained permission from his brother to hold one in Scotland. Its first act was to confirm all the laws in favour of the protestant religion, and against popery; it next passed one asserting the unalterable right of succession to the crown. A test, to be taken by all persons, was then framed: the confession of faith of the first reformers was adopted as the definition of the protestant religion; and "a long inconsistent oath was prescribed, to adhere, according to this obsolete confession, to the protestant faith, yet, by the recognition of supremacy, to conform to whatever religion the king might appoint; to preserve the former presbyterian discipline, yet to attempt no alteration in the present episcopal form of the church; to abjure the doctrines and renounce the right of resistance, but at the same time, as a religious duty, incumbent by the confession on good subjects, to repress the tyranny and resist the oppression of kings*."

* Leing, Hist. of Scotland.

No conscientious man of any party could take this oath in its literal sense. By dint, however, of explanations, the episcopal clergy, with the exception of eighty honest men, who valued their souls more than their livings, were induced to subscribe this presbyterian engagement. The presbyterians mostly declined it, and the duke of Hamilton resigned his office rather than take it. The earl of Argyle subscribed it, with an explanation that he did not consider himself precluded from attempting any alteration "which he thought of advantage to the church or state, and not repugnant to the protestant religion and his loyalty." This was accepted at the time; but he was called on to qualify a second time, and his explanation was then refused, and he was committed to the castle (Nov. 9). A charge was made against him of treason, perjury, and *leasing-making*; and, with the bare-faced iniquity characteristic of the Scottish state-trials in that century, a jury, of which the marquis of Montrose was foreman, pronounced him guilty of treason and leasing-making (Dec. 12). The king sent down directions that judgement should follow, but execution be stayed. Argyle, however, saw reason to think that the duke and his party were resolved on his death, and he contrived to effect his escape, disguised as a page, in the train of his daughter-in-law, lady Sophia Lindsay. He made his way to London, where he remained concealed for some time, and then got over to Holland. Some members of the council had the fiendish barbarity to propose that lady Sophia Lindsay should be publicly whipped through the streets of Edinburgh! The duke, who had some of the feelings of a gentleman, replied that "they were not used to deal so cruelly with ladies in *his* country."

Laing truly observes, that "there was nothing similar to the corruption of the peers and jurors of Argyle, except the venal evidence allotted in England to the vilest of mankind." The objects really sought were the ruin of that nobleman as the head of the presbyterian party, and the division of his spoils among the duke's friends. The pre-

text employed was, the necessity of wresting from him his hereditary jurisdictions, but these he had already offered to surrender. They were now, together with those of Monmouth and Hamilton, who would not take the test, parceled out among the creatures of the court. Argyle's estates were given to his eldest son.

An affair of no slight importance in the royal mind, the settling a pension on the duchess of Portsmouth, caused the duke of York to be invited to Newmarket early in the following year (1682). When that necessary matter was arranged, and he had obtained permission to reside in England, he returned to Scotland to settle the administration in that country. But the Gloucester frigate which carried him, struck on the Lemon-and-ore bank (May 6) and was lost, with about two hundred persons. The duke, with some of his friends, escaped in the barge, and the generous sailors, though certain of their own death, gave a loud cheer when they saw him in safety*. He brought his family up to London, and resumed his residence at St. James's (25th).

Monmouth, on hearing of the return of the duke to England, left the Netherlands and returned also. In order to keep up and increase his popularity he made a progress through a great part of the country, where his reception was most enthusiastic; but in the midst of his triumphs he was arrested by order from the court.

In the plan of despotism which was now matured, there were two important points to be attained; the one was to be able always to have juries who, heedless of the evidence, would find a verdict for the crown; the other, in case it should be necessary to return to the use of parliaments, to possess the power of nominating a majority of the members. These objects were both to be compassed by obtaining the appointment of the officers of the corporations. It was resolved to begin with the city of London, whose zeal for

* James gave money to their widows and children. It was said, but with more malice than truth, that his chief care had been to save his dogs and priests.

liberty, it must be confessed, has always contained a sufficient alloy of turbulence and faction.

It had been the custom for the lord-mayor to designate one of the sheriffs for the ensuing year by drinking to him at the Bridge-house feast, and this choice was always confirmed by the livery. This however was only a courtesy on their part, for by the charter the right lay in the citizens at large. The practice however had ceased, and since 1641, both the sheriffs had been chosen by the common-hall. Now, however, at the king's desire it was renewed, and sir John Moore, the mayor, drank and sent the cup to Dudley North, an eminent Turkey merchant and brother to the chief-justice of the common pleas. On the day of election, the whig party proposed two citizens, named Papillon and Dubois, and demanded a poll. The lord-mayor, insisting on his right to name one, refused, and adjourned the court; but the sheriffs most irregularly continued it and commenced a poll, for which they were sent next day to the Tower. The contest was continued for some months, each party maintaining its claim. Though the popular candidates had immense majorities at the polls, the court nominees North and Rich, were finally sworn in; and at the next election for lord-mayor, the court succeeded in having one of its party placed in office, so that it now had both mayor and sheriffs, and consequently juries, at its devotion. As a proof of its power and its vengeful spirit, Pilkington, one of the late sheriffs, being charged with saying, when he heard that the duke was returning, "He has already burnt the city, he is now coming to cut all our throats," was sentenced to pay 100,000*l.* damages; and sir Patience Ward, a former lord-mayor, for having sworn that he did not hear Pilkington use those words, was sentenced to the pillory for perjury.

But a more deadly blow was aimed soon after at the city. A writ of inquiry, or *Quo warranto*, was issued against it as having forfeited its charter by illegally imposing a toll, and by making scandalous reflections on the king in the

petition against the prorogation in 1679. The case was argued in the court of king's-bench. The advocates for the city showed, that a corporation never had been, and could not be, subject to forfeiture; that the acts with which the city was charged were both legal, but that at all events, the persons who did them should be punished, and not the innocent corporation. But the judges were the mere tools of the crown, and judgement was given (June 12, 1683) "that the franchise and liberty of the city of London should be taken and seized into the king's hands." On a petition of the common council, the king consented to leave them their revenues and form of government, provided they gave him a *veto* on the appointment of their mayor, sheriffs, and other principal officers. The city now was bridled in perpetuity, and what had succeeded in London was tried all over the kingdom: *Quo-warrantos* were issued in abundance, and as there were few corporations which had not been guilty of some irregularities, most sought to make terms by voluntary surrenders of their charters*. They obtained new ones, making them more oligarchic and more under the power of the court. This course of laying the foundation of despotism went on through the remainder of this and a great part of the succeeding reign.

The court had soon an opportunity of proving the effects of the influence it had acquired, for another conspiracy was at this time brought to light.

Ever since the dissolution of the last parliament, the leaders of the popular party had been in the habit of holding consultations as to the best modes of resisting the government, in case, as seemed almost certain, it should aim at despotic authority. In contemplation of the necessity

* Thus St. Ives had four constables and three serjeants-at-mace, when by its charter it should have only three of the former and two of the latter. Oxford had five instead of four aldermen; its fair was held in the wrong place, and its town-clerk signed himself the king's clerk without leave. Both charters were attacked.

of an ultimate appeal to force, they had arranged the project of a simultaneous rising in London and in various parts of the kingdom; but this was little more than hypothetical, for lord Essex and lord Russell were men of too much prudence and virtue to have recourse to insurrection without a stringent necessity, and a chance nearly amounting to certainty. The impetuous Shaftesbury, maddened by disappointment, and fearful of the vengeance of the court, was urgent for immediate action; his party was, as he thought, strong in the city, where he boasted that he had ten thousand 'brisk boys,' as he called them, ready to fly to arms on the motion of his finger. He had of course several subordinate agents, the principal of whom were colonel Rumsey, a man who had served in the republican army, and afterwards in Portugal; Ferguson, a Scottish independent minister; West, a lawyer; and Goodenough, who had been under-sheriff to Bethel; but these men had little or no communication with the other popular leaders. Finding his proposals rejected, Shaftesbury in his rage and fear even ventured to think of a rising in the city alone; but at length, seeing no hope of success, he retired to Holland, in the latter end of the year, and he died at the Hague of gout in the stomach on the 21st of the following January (1683).

Delivered from the dangerous impetuosity of Shaftesbury, the friends of liberty resolved to proceed with deliberation and caution. To conduct their plans, a council of six was formed, consisting of the duke of Monmouth, lords Essex, Russell, and Howard of Escrick, Algernon Sidney, and John Hampden, grandson of the great patriot. Howard was a man of no principle, but he was a bold talker, and he had gained on Essex, at whose persuasion Russell (who though he was his first-cousin disliked him extremely) consented to admit him into their association. The marquess of Winchester, Ford lord Grey, and others, though not in the council, were in the secret.

It was proposed, that in case of a rising, it should also

extend to Scotland, where the barbarous proceedings of the government were driving the people half-frantic. An agreement was made with the earl of Argyle, who was in Holland, to supply him with 8000*l.* to enable him to purchase arms, and return and raise his clansmen. Several of the Scottish nobility and gentry having resolved to sell their estates and seek a refuge from persecution in the New World, had sent agents up to London to treat with the patentees of the new colony of Carolina. With these men the council entered into communication, and they readily engaged in the project. Such was the state of the conspiracy in the summer of 1683, when it was discovered: nothing had been done, nothing even determined on; all was mere speculation.

The discovery was made in the following manner. Rumsey, West, and the other satellites of Shaftesbury used to hold meetings of their own, in which there was frequent talk of "lopping the two sparks," as West expressed it, that is, killing the king and duke. West spoke of doing it as they were going to or from the playhouse, as then he said "they would die in their calling." There was one Rumbold, an old officer of Cromwell's army, who had married a maltster's widow, and thus become master of a house called the Rye, near Hoddesden in Herts, close by which the king used to pass on his way to Newmarket. He happened to say how easy it would be for a man to shoot the king at that place; West caught at the idea, and hence the plot was named the Rye-house-plot. In this case also, although there was a real conspiracy, nothing would seem to have been actually determined on, and things remained in this state till the month of June, when on the very day (12th) that judgement was given against the city, one Josiah Keeling, a sinking merchant, who was one of the confederates, resolved to turn informer. He went to Legge, now lord Dartmouth, who sent him to secretary Jenkins; and on the information which he gave, rewards were offered for nine of the conspirators; but

they had been forewarned by Keeling's brother, and had concealed themselves. Two days after, West and Rumsey came in and surrendered; and on their information, together with that of one Shepherd, a wine-merchant, Russell and Sidney were arrested and sent to the Tower. Lord Grey was arrested, but he contrived to escape from the messenger; the duke of Monmouth also escaped, but Howard was taken concealed in a chimney in his own house. To save his life, he discovered all that he said he knew, and on his information lord Essex and Hampden were arrested.

On the 13th of July, lord Russell was put on his trial. The moment he was arrested he looked on his life as lost, not so much from an idea that anything could be proved against him, as from his knowledge of what witnesses were capable of swearing, and of the vengeful temper of the royal brothers. He had therefore turned his thoughts to another world, and passed his hours reading the Scriptures. The duke of Monmouth had sent to assure him, that if it would be of any service to him, he would come in and run fortunes with him; but he replied, that it would not benefit him to have his friends to die with him. Lord Essex would not save himself by flight, lest it might prejudice the cause of lord Russell, and the very morning that his friend was put on his trial, this excellent nobleman terminated his existence. He was constitutionally melancholy, and the circumstance of his having been the means of putting it into lord Howard's power to injure lord Russell, had weighed heavily on his spirits. The evening before he sent to assure the earl of Bedford that he was more concerned for his son's condition than even the earl himself. His servant on entering his room the next morning found him lying with his throat cut. There is hardly a doubt of his having done the deed himself; but attempts were afterwards made to prove that he had been murdered. Lord Russell, the day before his own death, described Essex as "the worthiest, the justest, the sincerest, and

most concerned for the public, of any man he ever knew."

Lord Russell was tried at the Old Bailey, before Pemberton, chief-justice of the common pleas, and a jury of citizens. His admirable wife, the glory of her sex*, suppressing all womanish fears and scruples, acted as his secretary on this occasion. The witnesses against him were Rumsey, Shepherd, and lord Howard. The first deposed to a meeting at Shepherd's, at which lord Russell was present, where there was a conversation about a rising at Taunton, and about seizing the guards at the Savoy and the Mews, in which the prisoner took a part. Shepherd deposed much to the same effect. Lord Howard was next examined; he stated the existence of the council of six, of which lord Russell was a member, and their communication with Argyle and the Scots; and he deposed to two meetings at which the prisoner was present, one being at lord Russell's own house.

Lord Russell, in his defence, acknowledged that he had been at Shepherd's, but accidentally he said, having gone thither for the purpose of tasting some wines. Lord Anglesea swore that lord Howard said to the earl of Bedford in his presence, "I know nothing against your son or any body else of such a barbarous design, and therefore your lordship may be comforted in it." Mr. Howard and Dr. Burnet also proved that Howard had denied all knowledge of the plot. Howard was re-examined, and he explained what lord Anglesea had heard, by saying it was his object at that time to outface the king for himself and his party. Pemberton treated the prisoner with much more moderation and decorum than was usual at that time, and his charge was such as might have produced an acquittal from an impartial jury; but the present one had been selected by North and Rich, and they found the pri-

* Lady Rachel Wriottesley, the daughter and heiress of the earl of Southampton, so distinguished for his attachment to the royal family.

soner guilty. On the following Saturday (14th) sentence of death by hanging, quartering, etc. was passed on him. The king afterwards commuted this sentence to decapitation, saying sarcastically (if Echard may be credited), "Lord Russell shall now find that I am possessed of that prerogative which in the case of lord Stafford he thought proper to deny me."

Lord Russell was now placed in Newgate, where he had the constant attendance of dean Tillotson and Dr. Burnet. Every effort was made to save his life; his father is said to have offered the king 100,000*l.* for his pardon; but the reply was, "he would not purchase his own and his subject's blood at so easy a rate." Lord Dartmouth urged on the king the impolicy of provoking the resentment of so great and numerous a family as the Russells, and hinted that some regard was due to the daughter of Southampton and her children*. But mercy, magnanimity, or gratitude had no place in the bosom of Charles; he answered, "All that is true, but it is as true that if I do not take his life he will soon have mine." Yielding to the entreaties of his wife and friends, lord Russell consented to petition the king for mercy, and the duke of York for his intercession. To the former he denied having any thought against his life, or design to change the government; he excused his opposition to the latter on the plea of principle. He offered to live anywhere the king should appoint, and engage never to meddle in the affairs of England. Both petitions were slighted.

The week which passed between the sentence and the death of this virtuous nobleman is a beautiful scene to contemplate. His own serene and cheerful piety, the zealous affection of his incomparable wife, and the sincere attachment of his friends, all combine to raise our estimate

* Lord Halifax also made every effort to save him. "If others," said the duchess of Portsmouth to lord Montague, "had been as earnest as my lord Halifax with the king, lord Russell might have been saved."—Fox's MSS. in Mackintosh's Hist. of Revol. of 1688.

of the worth of our nature. He spoke to Burnet of his death as giving him less apprehension than the drawing of a tooth; it was only, he said, being gazed at by his friends and enemies, and a moment's pain. Lord Cavendish having sent to propose changing clothes with him, and remaining in the prison while he made his escape, he smiled, sent him his thanks, but said he would make no escape. He dined and supped as cheerfully as ever, and talked of the affairs of Europe in his usual easy manner. As Saturday was the day appointed for his execution, he received the sacrament on Friday morning from Tillotson, and Burnet afterwards preached two sermons before him. He said, "he could not pretend to such high joys and longings (as the preacher had spoken of), but an entire resignation of himself to the will of God, and a perfect serenity of his mind." After dinner he saw and took leave of his children; at supper he was so cheerful as to amaze Burnet. He said to his wife, "Stay and sup with me; let us eat our last earthly food together." A little before she went away, he took her by the hand, and said, "This flesh you now feel, in a few hours must be cold." At ten o'clock she rose to depart; he kissed her four or five times; she controlled her feelings not to add to his distress, and they parted in silence. When she was gone, "Now," said he, "the bitterness of death is past;" and he continued for a long time dilating on her many virtues and perfections. Observing that it rained hard, he said, "Such a rain tomorrow will spoil a great show, which is a dull thing on a rainy day."

At twelve he went to bed, desiring to be called at four. He was asleep when his servant came, and he fell asleep again while he was preparing his things for him to dress. He prayed several times with Tillotson and Burnet, and also by himself. He wound up his watch, which he intended to give to the latter, and then said, "I have done with time, now eternity comes." As he came down, he met lord Cavendish, and took leave of him, but then

turned back to urge on him the necessity of attending more to his religion. He rode in his own carriage to Lincoln's-inn-fields, where he was to die. Tillotson and Burnet observed that he was singing to himself; on their inquiry, he said it was the 119th Psalm, but he should sing better very soon. As they turned down Little Queen-street, he looked toward his own house, and a tear stood in his eye; he said, "I have often turned to the other hand with great comfort, but now turn to this with greater." He expressed his wonder at seeing so great a crowd assembled. He addressed the sheriff briefly, and delivered him a written speech, prayed by himself, then laid his head on the block, and at the second stroke it was severed from his body. The paper which he gave the sheriff, and which contained the vindication of his conduct, had been already sent to the printer's, and in less than an hour it was sold through the city, to the great annoyance of the court.

From the preceding narrative it is plain that lord Russell was a man of the most amiable and honourable character, and sincerely attached to the religion and constitution of his country. His abilities (like those of his family in general) were only moderate; his fame is chiefly owing to his death, perhaps not a little to the heroic conduct of his wife. His sentence was hard if not unjust; for it has been observed that the only overt act of treason that could be regarded as proved against him was his assent to a rising at Taunton, and that only by a single witness. How much more might have been proved, if Howard was a willing witness (which it would seem he was not), or if the witnesses had been more closely cross-examined, is uncertain. At all events, if the king had been either wise or humane, a fairer opportunity for clemency could not have occurred*.

* It is certainly a very strange remark of Mr. Hallam (iii. 23, *note*) and one which we do not think worthy of him, that the Russell family "may be justly said to have deserved, like the Valerii at Rome, the surname of Publi-

On occasions like the present, there will always be found parties ready to seek the favour of the prevailing power, by the sacrifice of truth, justice, and all that is valuable to man. The university of Oxford now took the lead in the career of adulation. The very day on which the blood of Russell was shed, it passed a decree, in which, assuming the truth of the plot to assassinate that sacred person who was the "breath of their nostrils, the anointed of the Lord," they proceeded, "to the honour of the holy and undivided Trinity," etc., to decree twenty-four propositions, taken from the works of jesuits and protestants alike, to be "false, seditious, and impious, and most of them heretical and blasphemous, and destructive to all government in church and state." Among these atrocious doctrines are the following:—All civil authority is derived originally from the people. There is a mutual compact, tacit or express, between a prince and his subjects; and if he perform not his duty, they are discharged from theirs. The sovereignty of England is in the three estates, king, lords, and commons; the king has but a co-ordinate power, and may be overruled by the other two. It will hardly be believed that, ere five years were passed, this loyal university actually made an offer of its plate to aid in dethroning an anointed of the Lord! This should teach learned bodies to use more caution in their public proceedings, and to be sure that the language which they speak be that of truth and soberness*.

Essex and Russell were now removed: the fate of Sidney was next to be decided. Sir George Jeffreys, infa-

colæ." Even in the sense in which he evidently understood the term, it is, we believe, not more applicable to the Russells than to some other noble families; but Mr. Hallam does not seem to have been aware that *Publicola* is merely *Publicus*, and that it means the assertor of the rights of his order, the *populus*, i. e. the patricians. How far in this sense it belongs to the Russells we leave to be considered.

* Sir Walter Scott thus designates it (*Somers's Tracts*, viii. 420): "The following piece of adulation and servility was presented to king Charles II., and afterwards burnt by the hangman by order of parliament."

mous for brutality and subserviency, had lately been made chief justice of the king's bench, and it was before him that Sidney was tried (November 21). The only witness against him was lord Howard; but two were required by the law, and the records of legal iniquity will hardly furnish a parallel to the mode in which the deficiency was supplied. Among the prisoner's papers had been found a manuscript treatise on government, written some time before, and never published; it contained some of the doctrines lately condemned at Oxford, but which, even Hume says, were "such as the best and most dutiful subjects in all ages have been known to embrace." This dumb evidence was pronounced by Jeffreys to be equivalent to two-and-twenty witnesses, and, under his direction, the jury found the prisoner guilty. When the sentence was passed (26th), Sidney exclaimed, "Then, O God! O God! I beseech thee to sanctify my sufferings, and impute not my blood to the country or the city; let no inquisition be made for it; but if any, and the shedding of blood that is innocent must be revenged, let the weight of it fall only on those that maliciously persecute me for righteousness' sake." "I pray God," cried Jeffreys, losing his temper, "to work in you a temper fit to go to the other world, for I see you are not fit for this." "My lord," replied Sidney, stretching forth his arm, "feel my pulse, and see if I am disordered. I bless God I never was in better temper than I am now*."

Sidney did not disdain to petition for mercy, but it was in the tone of one who only asked for justice, and Charles was not a man to be affected by an appeal of that nature. The execution took place on Tower-hill (Dec. 7). Sidney had neither friends nor ministers of religion with him†. When asked if he would not address the people, he replied,

* My pulse as yours doth temperately keep time,
And makes as healthful music; it is not madness
That I have utter'd."—Hamlet, act iii. sc. 4.

† He had had independent ministers with him in prison.

that "he had made his peace with God, and had nothing to say to man." He gave the sheriff a written speech, which concluded with thanks to God that "he died for that *good old cause* in which he was engaged from his youth, and for which God had so often and so wonderfully declared himself." He made a short prayer, and laid down his head, which was taken off at one blow.

The name of Algernon Sidney is invested with a lustre derived from the iniquity of his sentence and the heroism of his death, but his character seems to us in reality not to be deserving of much eulogy. He was a determined republican, and like most such, he was self-sufficient, arrogant, and impatient of contradiction. To set up his beloved republic, he cared little what mischief he produced, or whether the nation were inclined to it or not. He received money from the French king, the notorious enemy of liberty, and he abetted his designs on the Netherlands. A man of delicate honour too would, we think, have abstained from plotting against the government of a prince who had pardoned and allowed him to return to his country*.

The duke of Monmouth had lately been reconciled to the king by means of lord Halifax, who wished to employ him as a counterpoise to the duke of York. As a condition of pardon, he was obliged to acknowledge the truth of the conspiracy. He was required to write a letter to that effect to the king, and, after a hard struggle with himself, he did so; but, ashamed of his weakness, he obtained the paper back from his father, and he was in consequence forbidden the royal presence.

The court was now triumphant; the country-party seemed annihilated, for the people in general, confounding

* Very different was the conduct of colonel Hutchinson. "Having been freely pardoned," says his wife, "by the present powers, he resolved not to do anything against the king, but thought himself obliged to sit still and wish his prosperity in all things that were not destructive to the interest of Christ and his members on earth; yet as he could not wish well to any ill way, so he believed that God had set him aside, and that, therefore, he ought to mourn in silence and retiredness while he lay under this obligation."—*Life*, p. 378.

the two plots, believed that they had conspired to murder the king. Loyal addresses, therefore, poured in once more from all parts: charters were everywhere surrendered. Jeffreys, who went the northern circuit this year (1684), we are told by Roger North, "made them all, like the walls of Jericho, fall down before him, and returned laden with surrenders, the spoils of towns." At the same time the king was careful to avoid, as much as possible, the suspicion of an inclination to popery, and chiefly with this view he had given, in the summer of the last year, his niece, the princess Anne, in marriage to prince George, the brother of the king of Denmark, whose only merit was the being a protestant.

The duke of York, in defiance of the test act, was restored to his office of lord high admiral, and to a seat in the council; and his brother's indolence threw the direction of affairs very much into his hands: but his violence and impatience gave much uneasiness to the king, who was now only anxious for ease and repose, and he was overheard one day saying to the duke, "Brother, you may travel if you will; I am resolved to make myself easy for the rest of my life*." There appears, in fact, to have been a complete change of measures projected. Monmouth came over from the Netherlands and had a secret interview with his father, and it was proposed to send the duke of York back to Scotland, under the pretext of holding a parliament in that kingdom. What the result might have been is not to be known, for an event soon occurred which altered all the existing relations.

The king, who was only in his fifty-fifth year, had naturally a robust constitution; though he had somewhat impaired it by early excesses, he was now regular in his living, and seemed likely to attain a good old age. On Sunday, however, the 1st of February, 1685, he felt rather unwell, and next morning he fell down in a fit of apoplexy. Speedy remedies restored him, but he still

* Note on Burnet, ii. 464.

languished, and on Wednesday his recovery was considered hopeless. From the first, the queen and the duke of York had been most assiduous in their attendance on him; the primate and some of the other prelates were also constantly about him. On Thursday, Ken, bishop of Bath, announced to him his danger, which he heard with an air of resignation. The prelate then read the office for the visitation of the sick, and the king having expressed his repentance in a general way, he also read the form of absolution. He wished to administer the sacrament, but the king said it was time enough; the elements were brought and laid on a table in readiness, but the only reply the prelate could get was, "I will think of it." The duke of York then motioned the company to retire to the other end of the room, and in a whisper asked his brother if he should send for a catholic priest: "For God's sake, brother, do," he replied, "and please to lose no time; but," he added, "will you not expose yourself too much by doing it?" The duke was not a man to fear danger in such a cause. He went out, and father Huddleston being the only priest he could find, he brought him up the back-stairs into the king's closet. All were then directed to withdraw, except the duke and the lords Bath and Feversham. The duke then brought in the priest, saying, "Sir this worthy man once saved your body*, he now comes to save your soul." The king made his confession, chiefly bewailing his having so long deferred his conversion. He pronounced an Act of Contrition with great fervour, and continued making pious ejaculations, such as "Mercy, sweet Jesus, mercy!" till the host, which had been sent for, arrived. The priest, who had already given him extreme unction, then administered the eucharist, and withdrew by the way he came. The chamber-door was opened, and the secret transaction soon transpired.

The king passed an uneasy night. When the queen

* Huddleston had been chaplain at Moseley, at the time of the king's escape after the battle of Worcester.

sent to excuse her absence, and to ask his pardon, "Alas, poor woman," he cried, "she beg my pardon! I beg hers, with all my heart. Take back that answer to her." He spoke in the kindest terms to his brother, wishing him a long and a prosperous reign. He had his children all brought to him, and gave them each his blessing. One of the courtly prelates then saying that the king, the Lord's anointed, was the common father of all his subjects, all present fell on their knees, and the dying monarch pronounced a blessing on them. He commended the duchesses of Cleveland and Portsmouth to his successor, and said to him, "Let not poor Nelly [Gwyn] starve." Before noon next day (6th) he breathed his last.

In person Charles was tall, his complexion was swarthy, his features harsh and repulsive; but his manners were the most gay and affable that could be conceived. He had much wit, and he conversed and told stories with considerable grace and humour. He hated pomp and parade, and found his chief delight in social intercourse. He had both good sense and sound judgement, though he did not always choose to exercise them. For his brothers, his sisters, his mistresses, and his children he seems to have felt an affection, but only for them, for the selfishness of his character was such that he never attached himself to any friend. His ill qualities were numerous: he was a bad king and a bad man; careless of the national honour, hating liberty, insincere, mean, rapacious, ungrateful, vindictive, and remorseless: such was Charles II. The people, caught by his affability, and feeling the advantages of the peace which his base subserviency to France maintained, were partial to him. He was popular in his life, and his death was lamented.

CHAPTER XVII.

JAMES II.*

1685—1688.

Accession of James ;—he goes publicly to mass.—Parliament.—Invasion of Argyle ;—of Monmouth ;—his execution.—Jeffreys's campaign.—Overthrow of the Test Act.—Attacks on the church.—Parties at court.—Negotiations with the court of Rome.—Failure of the king in making converts.—Attacks on the universities.—State of Ireland.—Fallacious prospects of the king.—Prosecution of the seven bishops.—Birth of the prince of Wales.—Invitation to the prince of Orange.—State of the continent.—Invasion of England.—Desertion of James ;—his flight ;—return to London ;—second flight.—The Convention.—Prince and princess of Orange declared king and queen.—Reflections.

IMMEDIATELY on the demise of king Charles, the privy council assembled, and the new monarch addressed them, assuring them of his determination to follow the example of his late brother, “ especially in that of his great clemency and tenderness to his people ;” that “ he would make it his endeavour to preserve this government, both in church and state, as it is by law established ;” and, “ that he would always take care to defend and support the church.” His brother-in-law, lord Rochester†, requested that this address, which had filled them all with joy, might be made public. The king said he had no copy ; but one of the council wrote it down from memory, and the king, who had not expected this result, found it necessary to consent to its publication. He was forthwith proclaimed, amid the loud acclamations of the populace.

The king's speech gave great satisfaction to those who

* Authorities mostly the same as for the preceding reign.

† Laurence Hyde, who had been created earl of Rochester by Charles II.

called themselves the loyal part of the nation. It was regarded as a security greater than any law. "We have now the word of a king, and a word never broken," was the common phrase. The pulpits resounded as usual; loyal addresses poured in from all sides; the university of Oxford promised obedience, "without limitations or restrictions;" the London clergy, more sincere, said, "our religion established by law is dearer to us than our lives;" and this expression gave offence at court, a proof of what was the real feeling in the royal bosom.

The first act of the new monarch was an illegal, but not unjustifiable, stretch of power. He issued (9th) a proclamation, ordering the duties to continue to be levied on merchandise till the meeting of parliament, which he summoned for the 19th of May.

The funeral of the late king was private (14th), for the successor was unwilling, as he says himself, to communicate with the church of England in spiritual things, as he must have done had it been public.

James resolved to continue his brother's ministers. To the marquess of Halifax, who apprehended his displeasure, he said that he remembered only his opposition to the exclusion-bill; and, chiefly owing to the representations of the French king, Sunderland and Godolphin, who had supported that bill, in like manner experienced no displeasure. The cabinet was thus constituted; Halifax president of the council, Rochester lord-treasurer, his brother Clarendon privy seal, Sunderland and Middleton secretaries; Godolphin was made chamberlain to the queen. This last, with Rochester and Sunderland, alone possessed the royal confidence. There was also a secret council for catholic affairs, of which Sunderland alone of the ministers had knowledge. It consisted of the earls of Powis and Castlemain, the lords Arundel, Bellasis, and Jermyn, lord Dover, Richard Talbot, an Irishman, and father Petre, a jesuit, brother to the late lord of that name.

The king was resolved to make no secret of his own or

his brother's religion. With respect to the latter, he caused Huddleston to publish an account of the late king's reconciliation, and he gave to the world two papers in favour of popery found in that monarch's strong box, and written by his own hand. For himself, on the second Sunday of his reign, he caused the folding-doors of the queen's private chapel to be thrown open while he was at mass, that his presence there might be seen. On Holy Thursday (Apr. 16) he was attended to the door of the chapel by his guards and the pensioners, and on Easter Sunday by the knights of the garter and several of the nobility,—a proceeding which caused great uneasiness in the minds of zealous protestants*. Their suspicions were further excited by a proclamation for the discharge of all recusants. They saw in this a manifest advance to the establishment of popery, which was in reality the object nearest to the king's heart. Meantime every effort was made to get Louis to continue the pension, in order that James might be independent of his parliament.

On the third of May the king and queen were crowned with the usual ceremonies, the only part omitted being the communion. The king of course solemnly swore to maintain the true profession of the Gospel, and the rights and privileges of the church and clergy. Like a true Stuart and pupil of the jesuits, he told Barillon that he did so, as these rights and privileges were those which had been granted by king Edward the Confessor, of whose being a catholic there was not the slightest doubt. During the whole ceremony he had been under apprehensions for his personal safety, though without any just cause.

On the 19th the parliament met. In consequence of the power which the surrender of charters had given to the crown, the returns had been so much to the royal satis-

* When the duke of Norfolk, who carried the sword of state, being a protestant, stopped at the door, the king said, "My lord, your father would have gone further." "Your majesty's father," replied the duke, "would not have gone so far."

faction that James declared there were not forty members whom he would not have nominated himself. In his speech from the throne, he repeated his address to the privy council; he then called on them to give him a revenue for life such as his brother had enjoyed, and hinting that nothing else would content him, he added, "the best way to engage me to meet you often, is always to use me well:" he concluded by informing them of the news he had just received of the landing of Argyle in Scotland, and again calling on them to give him his revenue as he desired it and without delay.

In most respects the commons proved as dutiful as the king could have desired. By a unanimous vote, they settled on him for life the same revenue that the late king had enjoyed. They accompanied it with a declaration that they had implicit confidence in his promise to support the church, which, they added, was dearer to them than their lives. On the intelligence of the landing of Monmouth, they made an additional grant of 400,000*l.* and passed a bill for the security of the king's person, in which they enlarged the original statute of treason. In the midst of this exuberant loyalty, however, it was manifest that the parliament, with all its servility, was jealous on the subject of religion.

Immediately on the accession of James, the English and Scottish exiles began to consult on the mode of delivering their country from the yoke of popery and despotism which they were persuaded the new monarch would endeavour to impose on it. They met at Rotterdam, whither Argyle and Monmouth, who were at Brussels, repaired at their invitation, and it was arranged that these noblemen should simultaneously head expeditions to England and Scotland: to keep up the union between them, Argyle was to be attended by two Englishmen, Ayloff and Rumbold; and Monmouth by two Scots, Ferguson and Fletcher of Saltoun.

Argyle sailed the first (May 2). He stopped at the

Orkney isles, where two of his party were captured, and the government thus got information of his strength and destination. He landed in his own country (17th), and forthwith issued two declarations, and sent the fiery cross, according to Highland usage, to summon his clansmen to arms. But the gentlemen of his name had been secured; the militia was raised and advancing on all sides; only two thousand five hundred men joined him, and instead of hastening to the western counties, he lingered in the hopes of being joined by more. His stores and arms, which he had placed in the castle of Ellengreg, fell into the hands of the royalists. When at length he descended into Lennox to pass the Clyde, he found bodies of armed men everywhere opposed to him. His army lost itself by night in a morass; the greater part of it sought safety in flight. Argyle, in the disguise of a peasant, was met and wounded as he was crossing a stream by five militia-men; as he fell he cried, "Alas, unfortunate Argyle!" His captors would fain have concealed his rank, as they durst not release him; but he was recognized by their officer. He was led to Edinburgh, where he was treated with the same indignities as had formerly been the lot of Montrose. As the king had ordered him if taken to be put to death within three days, he was executed on his former iniquitous sentence (30th). He met his fate with piety and fortitude: embracing the instrument of death, he called it (in allusion to its name) the sweetest *maiden* he had ever kissed.

Various circumstances detained Monmouth so long, that it was the 11th of June when he landed at Lyme in Dorset. He was attended by lord Grey of Werk, and about eighty other exiles and their attendants. He forthwith raised his standard, and published a declaration styling James a usurper and charging him with the burning of London and every atrocity which had been laid to the account of the papists, adding that of poisoning the late king. This declaration drew numbers of the people to his standard,

and on the fourth day (15th) he marched from Lyme at the head of four thousand men. At Taunton (18th) he was received with acclamations and presented with a splendid stand of colours; and twenty young ladies in their best attire came to offer him a naked sword and a pocket-bible. He here caused himself to be proclaimed king (20th); and in proof of his royalty, touched for the king's evil. He thence (21st) proceeded to Bridgewater, where he was also well received. The militia everywhere retired before him, and he proposed to cross the Avon near Bath and advance against Bristol. But it was now ascertained that the royal troops, under the earl of Feversham, were at hand; that project therefore was abandoned, and it was debated in his council whether to march for Salop and Cheshire, where he expected good support, or to direct their course into Wiltshire, where he was led to hope for powerful assistance. This last was preferred, and the army arrived (26th) at Philip's-Norton on the confines of that county, where they had an encounter with a part of the royal forces in which they had rather the advantage. They fell back however to Frome, and here Monmouth first learned the defeat of Argyle. He had been for some time desponding; for he saw that none of the nobility or gentry, without whose aid no civil movements have ever succeeded in England, had declared in his favour, and he therefore had begun to view his cause as hopeless. It was proposed that the army should be disbanded, and Monmouth and his friends should endeavour to escape by sea; but this course was vehemently opposed by lord Grey and others, and the army was led back to Bridgewater (July 1). As the royal forces were reported to be encamped at no great distance on the edge of a morass named Sedgemoor, it was resolved to try the effect of a nocturnal attack. The duke led out his forces, the horse being commanded by lord Grey, whose courage was very dubious. They reached the moor at about one in the morning (6th), but found themselves stopped by a deep drain in front of the royal camp. Grey,

on coming to the ditch and perceiving the troops to be on the alert, turned after a brief stand and led his men off the field. The whole plan was now disconcerted; a firing was kept up till daylight, when Feversham ordered his infantry to cross the drain, while his horse took the insurgents in flank. The half-armed peasants made a gallant but ineffectual resistance, then broke and fled in all directions. Their loss was five hundred slain and fifteen hundred taken; the victors had three hundred killed and wounded.

Monmouth fled, it is not known at what time: his first thought was to get over to Wales; but Grey, who was his evil genius, dissuaded him from it, and with him and a German named Busse he directed his course toward the New Forest. As a reward had been set on his head, an active search was kept up for them. Early the next morning Grey was captured, and though Monmouth and Busse then escaped, the latter was taken the following morning (8th); and as he owned that he had parted only four hours before from the duke, the search for him was made with redoubled activity. In a couple of hours that unfortunate prince was found in a ditch, covered with fern and nettles. He was in the dress of a peasant, and in his pockets were some green peas, the only sustenance he appears to have had. Broken in mind and body, he wrote a most humble letter to the king, entreating a personal interview and promising to make some important discovery. He was therefore, the very evening he reached London (13th), led into the royal presence with his arms pinioned. He threw himself on his knees, confessed his guilt, casting the blame on others, and implored for mercy in the humblest terms, but made no discovery. James, reminding him of his early education, asked him if he would have a priest. "Is there then no hope?" said he. The king made no reply, but ordered him to be taken away to the Tower, where he was told to prepare for death on the second day. When Monmouth was gone, Grey was brought

into the royal presence, and he behaved with more spirit than the unfortunate duke.

James is usually condemned for inhumanity on this occasion. It is said that he should not have seen Monmouth, if he was resolved not to pardon him; but there is no proof of this resolution; he saw the prisoner at his own desire, and was led to expect disclosures which he did not receive. Surely Monmouth, after his invasion, his declaration, and his assumption of the title of king, had no claims to mercy. As to his being the king's nephew, this was a dubious point, and James appears to have always doubted his being his brother's son*.

The next morning (14th) Monmouth was visited by his duchess, the heiress of Buccleugh, whom he had abandoned to live with lady Harriet Wentworth. The meeting was a cold one; her object was, for the sake of herself and children, to get him to declare that she was ignorant of his projects. On this subject he gave her ample satisfaction, and she then withdrew. He wrote again to the king and to the queen and the queen-dowager (which last kind-hearted princess earnestly interceded for him), and to others, but with no effect. The bishops Ken and Turner came to prepare him for death. When they were announced he was overwhelmed with terror; but it passed away, and henceforth his mind was serene and composed. They found him in a religious frame of mind in general; but on two points he proved immovable; he strenuously maintained the right of resistance to oppression, and he would not allow that there was anything morally wrong in the connexion between him and lady Harriet Wentworth, though she had borne him a child; *she*, he said, was his real, the duchess was only his legal wife; his love for her had weaned him from vice; both had prayed to God to root out their affection if displeasing to him, but it had

* See above, p. 134, note†.

only increased with time. The prelates therefore declined giving him the sacrament.

In the morning (15th) they returned with Drs. Hooper and Tennyson; but none could make any impression on his mind. The duchess and his children came to take their final leave of him; he was kinder than before; she sank to the ground, and was carried away in a swoon. At ten o'clock he entered the carriage which was to convey him to Tower-hill. The concourse was immense; tears, sighs, and groans were succeeded by an awful silence. On the scaffold the divines conscientiously, but cruelly pressed him on the two above-named points: he was still inflexible. He made no speech, but gave a paper to the sheriff. He laid down his head, telling the executioner to do his work better than in the case of lord Russell. The man, unnerved, it would seem, by the charge, gave but a feeble stroke; the duke raised himself, and turned his head as if to upbraid him; he struck twice more, and then flung down the axe, swearing that his heart failed him. The sheriff made him resume it, and at the fifth blow the head was severed; and thus perished, in his thirty-sixth year, James duke of Monmouth.

Vengeance, both military and judicial, was let loose on the unfortunate adherents of Monmouth. Feversham hanged several of his prisoners without any trial; and colonel Kirke, who was left in command, is said to have acted with unusual barbarity*. The name of Kirke's Lambs, as his soldiers were called from the figure of a lamb which

* Thus, it is said, he ordered prisoners to be hung while he and his officers drank the king's health, and, when their feet quivered in the agonies of death, he said he would give them music to their dancing, and ordered the drums to beat and the trumpets to sound. Again a maiden applied to him for the life of her brother; he granted it, on condition of her complying with his desires; she consented, and passed the night with him; when she rose in the morning, the first object that met her eyes, on looking out of the window, was the body of her brother hanging from a gibbet. At the sight she lost her reason. This tale, however, rests on very slender evidence, and is probably a fiction. It is the same as that of Rynsault in the *Spectator* (No. 491). See Mackintosh, *Hist. of Revol.* ch. i.

their colours bore*, was long famous in the west. But these military atrocities sink into nothing when compared with 'Jeffreys's Campaign,' as the king loved to call it.

This unprincipled man, being joined in commission with four other judges, commenced operations at Winchester (Aug. 27) by the trial of Mrs. Lisle, the aged widow of one of the regicides. The charge against her was that of having given shelter to Nelthorpe and Hickes, two of the fugitives from Monmouth's army. Her defence was, that of Nelthorpe she knew nothing, and that she thought Hickes, who was a dissenting teacher, only fled from a warrant against him on that account. Jeffreys undertook himself to examine a peasant who had been their guide to her house, and he so terrified the poor rustic by his vehemence and scurrility, that he admitted sufficient to give reason to think that the prisoner knew of their having been in Monmouth's army. Jeffreys took care to conceal the fact that Hickes had not been convicted or outlawed, till when she could not legally be tried as the receiver of a traitor. The jury long hesitated, but were at length overawed into a verdict of Guilty. "Gentlemen," said the brutal judge, "had I been among you, and had she been my own mother, I should have found her guilty." Next morning he sentenced her to be burnt alive that afternoon, but the clergy of the cathedral obtained for her a respite of three days, during which applications were made to the king in her favour by noble ladies whom she had befriended in the days of her husband's power, and by lord Feversham, who was promised 1000*l.* for her pardon. It was also shown that her son had served in the army against Monmouth; but all was in vain; the king, pleading, it is said, a promise to Jeffreys not to spare her, declared that he would not give her a reprieve for a single day. He consented to change the sentence to beheading, and the venerable matron perished on the scaffold (Sept. 2), praying for the

* Adopted when the regiment was at Tangier and engaged against the Moors; in imitation perhaps of the Templars.

prince who could not pardon the performance of an act of humanity.

The commission thence proceeded to Dorchester, where eighty persons were executed; thence to Taunton and Wells; and the number of deaths in the county of Somerset is said to have been two hundred and forty at the least. The whole country presented a horrible and most un-English aspect; everywhere gibbets and the mangled limbs of men met the eye, and the stench that exhaled from them rendered the roads hateful to travellers. The trials were few; men, seeing no hopes of justice, confessed their guilt, as to do so offered the only chance of escape.

But blood alone did not satisfy Jeffreys; he filled his coffers by the sale of pardons. It was also the royal pleasure that the courtiers should improve their circumstances by the rebellion. Sunderland wrote to Jeffreys to say that one thousand prisoners were to be bestowed on certain courtiers, and one hundred on a favourite of the queen's, on their giving security that they should be slaves for ten years in the West India islands. Against this Jeffreys remonstrated, as they might, he said, be sold for 10*l.* or 15*l.* apiece. The young ladies who gave Monmouth his colours were excepted by name from the general pardon, that they might purchase separate ones, of which the profits were given to the maids of honour! and William Penn, the celebrated quaker, whose conduct in this reign does him little credit, was appointed their agent. The maids of honour, it appears, proved hard dealers in the article of mercy.

James received daily intelligence from Jeffreys of his proceedings, which he constantly spoke of to the foreign envoys and others as that judge's campaign; and during the hottest part of it he was amusing himself with horse-races at Winchester. He raised Jeffreys, on his return, to a peerage and the chancellorship; and when that savage judge had, through his habitual drunkenness, brought on a fit of illness, the king was much concerned, and declared

that his loss could not be easily supplied. Jeffreys is said to have declared on his death-bed that he had done nothing without orders, and that he had not been half bloody enough for him that sent him. It is vain, therefore, to attempt to deny James's appetite for blood.

Alderman Cornish, the former sheriff, was tried (Oct. 19) and found guilty for being concerned in the Rye-house plot, on the evidence of Rumsey, though this witness owned that his evidence now was contrary to what he had given on the trial of lord Russell. Cornish was executed, but his limbs and estate were restored to his family; and Rumsey was confined for life,—a clear proof of the king's opinion of the value of his testimony.

On the same day with Cornish, two men, named Ring and Fernley, and a Mrs. Gaunt, were tried and condemned for harbouring rebels. Ring had sheltered his near relation; Fernley one Burton, who had been in the Rye-house plot and with Monmouth; Mrs. Gaunt, who had aided his escape before, visited him at Fernley's and undertook to save him again; but he was taken, and, to save his life, he was base enough to appear against his benefactors. The benevolent Mrs. Gaunt was burnt alive at Tyburn. She settled the straw round her so as to produce a strong flame, and died amid the tears of the spectators.

Hampden was now tried a second time for his share in the Rye-house plot; but it had been secretly arranged that he was to be pardoned, on his pleading guilty and paying 6000*l.* to Jeffreys and father Petre. The drama between him and the judges was enacted to perfection. Lord Brandon was found guilty on the evidence of lord Grey and of Rumsey and one Saxton, but he was afterwards pardoned. Grey himself was pardoned, as his was only a life-estate, and charges on it had been granted to lord Rochester and others. Wonderful to relate, lord Delamere was actually acquitted by a jury of thirty peers, the perjury of Saxton, the chief evidence against him, being apparent.

The suppression of the rebellion had elated James, and

led him to think that nothing now could oppose his will. He had three objects in view as the means of establishing despotism ; these were, the abolition of the Test, which would enable him to fill all offices with papists ; the repeal of the *Habeas Corpus* act, which the late king and himself had often declared to be subversive of government, i. e. of despotism ; to keep up the army, which now amounted to nearly twenty thousand men, and in which there were several catholic officers, as a permanent force. As he knew that Halifax was opposed to all these projects, he lost no time in dismissing him from the council.

When the parliament met (Nov. 9) James addressed them from the throne. Late events, he said, had shown that the militia was inadequate to the defence of the country, and that a permanent force was necessary ; he had, therefore, increased the regular army, and he now called on them for the funds for maintaining it. He then noticed the employment of catholics. "And I will deal plainly with you," said he : "after having had the benefit of their services in such a time of need and danger, I will not expose them to disgrace, nor myself to the want of them, if there should be another rebellion."

From this haughty tone, it is plain that James reckoned on absolute submission, and that the parliament would simply register his edicts ; but here, as on most occasions, his blind fatuity led him astray. The dread and the hatred of popery were implanted in every protestant bosom ; and, in the revocation of the edict of Nantes by Louis, at this very time, they had had a specimen of popish good faith and tolerance. The commons, therefore, when voting a supply of 700,000*l.*, coupled with it a bill for the improvement of the militia ; and while offering to pass a bill of indemnity for the catholic officers, prayed that they might be discharged. The danger of a standing army and the employment of catholic officers was also strongly exposed in the house of peers by lords Halifax, Nottingham, Anglesea, Mordaunt, Compton, bishop of London, and others, and,

in spite of the opposition of Jeffreys, it was resolved to take the king's speech into consideration ; but James prorogued the parliament, and it met no more during his reign, except to be prorogued anew. It was fortunate for the country that James's bigotry led him to assail the Test-act first, for in all probability this subservient assembly would have surrendered the *Habeas Corpus* without a struggle.

James was resolved, come what might, not to part with his army. The annual cost of it was 600,000*l.*; and, by frugality, by neglecting the navy, by putting off the payment of his brother's debts, and by other expedients, he could defray it without the aid of parliament. To put the chief commands into the hands of catholics was necessary for his ulterior projects, and to effect this he had recourse to the following plan.

It had from very ancient times been a part of the prerogative to grant dispensations from the penalties of particular laws. This had, as usual, been spoken of in exaggerated terms by courtiers and lawyers, even Coke saying that no act of parliament can restrain it. Practice, however, had for many years confined it to merely trifling cases ; but sir Edward Herbert, the present chief-justice, had formerly suggested to the king, when duke of York, that by means of it the Test-act might be eluded, and James now resolved to bring it into action through a legal decision. Of Herbert himself he was sure, and, as he could dismiss the judges at his pleasure, he reckoned on the obedience of the others, but, on privately asking their opinions, he found four refractory : these he dismissed forthwith, and appointed others ; and the bench being now adjusted, a sham action was brought for their decision. Sir Edward Hales, a recent convert, was appointed to the command of a regiment, and his coachman was directed to bring an action for the penalty of 500*l.* incurred by his holding a command without having qualified. Hales pleaded a dispensation under the great seal. The case was tried before the twelve judges, and eleven decided in fa-

vous of the dispensation (June 21, 1686). This decision was not, properly speaking, illegal, but it was highly unconstitutional; and, as it declared that no restraint could be placed on the monarch, and that acts of parliament were mere cobwebs, there being a power paramount to them, men plainly saw that there was no alternative between a tame submission to the overthrow of their religion and liberties and a bold effort to maintain them. In effect, this decision sealed the doom of the House of Stuart.

James little thought so; he had gained, he considered, a complete victory; the Test-act and all other barriers against popery could no longer impede him, and the army, the council, and every department of the state might now be filled with catholics. He had even, as he conceived, the power of gradually making the church itself catholic. Early in this year, Obadiah Walker, master of University college, Oxford, and three of the fellows, had declared themselves catholics, as also had Sclater, the curate of Esher and Putney, and a royal dispensation allowed them still to enjoy the emoluments of their situations; Sclater, however, being enjoined to provide for the performance of divine service in his churches. Walker was allowed to have a catholic chapel in his college, and a press for printing catholic books of theology. But the spirit of Compton, bishop of London, gave occasion to a further mode of bridling the church, or rather of accelerating the downfall of the monarch.

Compton, brother to the earl of Northampton, had been a soldier. He was a man of a bold spirit, and a zealous protestant. To punish his late opposition in parliament, the king struck him out of the list of the privy council, and deprived him of his office of dean of the chapel. This only increased his popularity and the suspicion of the king's designs, and the London pulpits thundered with controversy. The king, as head of the church, issued orders for the clergy to abstain from controversy in the pulpit. Few obeyed; it was therefore resolved to make an example.

Dr. Sharp, dean of Norwich and rector of St. Giles's, was fixed on, and Compton was ordered to suspend him, but he replied, that he must hear him first in his defence. It was now determined to make the bishop himself the victim.

The odious court of High Commission had been abolished in 1641. A part of the act of abolition was repealed at the Restoration, but a clause of it, prohibiting the erection of any similar court, had been retained. James, however, issued a commission, in nearly the very words of that of Elizabeth, to certain persons to act as a court of commissioners in ecclesiastical causes. These were the primate, chancellor, bishops of Durham and Rochester, the earls of Rochester and Sunderland, and chief-justice Herbert. Three were to form a *quorum*, of whom Jeffreys was always to be one. "God," said James to Barrillon, "has permitted that all the laws made to establish protestantism now serve as a foundation for my measures to re-establish true religion."

Before this court Compton was summoned. He defended himself with much address. The primate Sancroft was not there to uphold the interests of the church, for he had timidly obtained leave to be absent on the plea of age and infirmity; but the earl and the bishop of Rochester and the chief-justice took the side of Compton, and even Jeffreys, who, in the midst of his excesses, clung to the protestant faith, supported them. The presence, however, and the influence of the king prevailed, and Compton was suspended by a commission, three-fourths of whose members had declared in his favour. The people soon nick-named the commission the 'Congregatio de propaganda Fide.'

Of the royal advisers there were two classes, the protestant and the catholic. The former, headed by the earl of Rochester*, seem to have been willing to aid the king

* Of this champion of the church Roger North says, "His infirmities were passion, in which he would swear like a cutter; and the indulging himself in wine."

in all his projects against liberty, but they were steadfast in their adherence to the church. The catholics were divided into two parties : most of the laymen, such as Bel-lasis and Powis, were for moderation ; they saw the difficulties in the way of establishing their faith, and they would have been content with the repeal of the penal statutes, and security for their religion under a protestant successor. The queen herself was inclined to this party ; but the king was under the influence of father Petre and the jesuits ; and these, with the usual heat and imprudence of political churchmen, urged him on to extreme measures. Sunderland, an ambitious, unprincipled statesman, though still professing himself a protestant, allied himself closely with this party, in the hope of supplanting Rochester ; and the influence of father Petre, when all other applications had failed, raised him to the post of president of the council, in the room of Halifax, with which he still retained his post of secretary.

But the protestant party had a supporter who they thought might counterbalance the queen and the priests. James, with all his zeal for his religion, and his anxiety to diffuse it, made no scruple of violating one of its most important precepts. His amours had always been notorious, and neither of his wives could boast of his fidelity. Arabella Churchill*, maid of honour to his first duchess, had borne him two children. His present mistress, Catherine, daughter of the witty, profligate sir Charles Sedley, was a woman so devoid of personal attractions, that king Charles used to say his brother kept her by way of penance ; but she had a coarse, roystering kind of humour, which pleased her lover, who was a man of no delicacy whatever, though she did not spare to employ it even on his religion and his priests. In the beginning of his reign he had been induced to break off his intercourse with her, but he afterwards re-

* She was sister to lord Churchill, afterwards duke of Marlborough. One of her children by James was the celebrated duke of Berwick. She afterwards married colonel Godfrey.

newed it, and, at the suggestion, it is said, of Rochester, created her countess of Dorchester. The queen, who was a woman of spirit, testified the utmost indignation, and, by Sunderland's advice, she assembled one day in her apartment the chancellor and himself, with the priests and the catholic nobles; and when the king entered it, he was assailed by their united reproaches and remonstrances. He promised to separate from the countess, and he sent her orders to retire to the continent; but she asserted her rights as a free-born English woman, and appealed to Magna Charta. She at length consented to go to Ireland, where Rochester's brother, Clarendon, was lord-lieutenant. She returned, however, within six months, and the king renewed his intercourse with her; but it was of no political effect, as the jesuits 'had got the advowson of his conscience.'

It might be supposed that the court of Rome would have zealously co-operated with James in his project of re-establishing the catholic faith; but so adverse were all things to this prince, that even there he found no support. The reigning pontiff, Innocent XI., who had been a soldier, was a man who knew or cared nothing about the disputes and differences of theologians, but he was an able temporal prince and statesman; he was on ill terms with Louis XIV. on account of that monarch's insolence; and he regarded with little complacency both the jesuits and the king of England, whom he looked on as partisans of Louis. James, on his accession, had sent Mr. Caryl as his private minister to Rome to solicit the purple for the queen's uncle, the title of bishop for one Dr. Leyburn, and the appointment of a nuncio to the court of St. James's. Caryl succeeded in the two last points; and the count D'Adda came over in November, 1685, but did not assume any public character. The zeal of the king, however, was not to be restrained, and the following February he insisted on D'Adda's taking the title of nuncio, to which the papal court gave a reluctant consent. The nuncio, a prudent,

clear-sighted man, viewed with concern the rate at which the king and his advisers were disposed to drive matters, and he gave the weight of his authority to the moderate catholic party.

James, being resolved to have a resident minister at the papal court, chose for this purpose, with his usual infelicity, the earl of Castlemain, the husband of the duchess of Cleveland, a man who owed his title to the infamy of his wife. Castlemain behaved at Rome with such indiscretion, that the nuncio was directed to make a formal complaint of his conduct. All the influence of James failed to procure a nominal bishoprick for Petre, whom he is thought to have designed to place in the see of York, which he kept vacant. He was equally unsuccessful in his efforts to procure for him a cardinal's hat.

If the pontiff was more swayed by politics than religion, we may easily believe the same to have been the case with the courts of Madrid and Vienna; and accordingly we find the Spanish and Imperial ministers co-operating with the Dutch, and opposing the French ambassador. James, who, to his misfortune, had some vague ideas of the dignity belonging to a king of England, and of the line of policy which, as such, he should adopt, irritated Louis by vain assumptions of independence, at the very time that he was receiving his money and relying on him for aid in his projects.

To accustom the public eye to the view of popery, convents were established in various parts of London: that of the Carmelites was in the city, that of the Franciscans in Lincoln's-inn-fields, while the Benedictines were at St. James's; and the jesuits opened a school at the Savoy. They all went about publicly in their habits, and London was gradually assuming the appearance of a catholic city. To awe the tumultuous, the army, of fifteen thousand men, was encamped on Hounslow-heath; and in the tent of lord Dunbarton, the second in command, mass was openly celebrated, and missionaries laboured to convert the sol-

diers. A paper calling on them to adhere to their religion being circulated through the camp, Johnson, its author, the chaplain of the late lord Russell, was tried, found guilty, and sentenced to stand thrice in the pillory and to be whipped from Newgate to Tyburn, which sentence was executed with the utmost rigour and cruelty, he being previously degraded from his sacred character.

In the laxity of principle which may be supposed to have prevailed in a court for five-and-twenty years the abode of profligacy and corruption, conversions, real or pretended, might be expected to be abundant; yet the failures of the king were numerous and mortifying. Lady Dorchester, as we have seen, stuck to her religion, reconciling it, like her royal paramour, with the breach of its duties. A priest came to convert secretary Middleton: "Your lordship believes the Trinity?" began he. "Who told you so? You are come here to prove your own opinions, not to ask about mine," was the reply; and the priest retired in confusion. Sheffield earl of Mulgrave is said to have replied to a monk, "I have convinced myself, by much reflection, that God made man, but I cannot believe that man can make God." Colonel Kirke is reported to have told the king that he was pre-engaged, having promised the emperor of Morocco to become a Mohammedan, if ever he changed. But the great object was to gain the princess Anne, and for this purpose the lure of the succession was held out to her; but, though of weak disposition, she was firm. The bishop of London had been her tutor; lord and lady Churchill*, who ruled her, were zealous for protestantism; and all the efforts made on her proved abortive. Lord

* John eldest son of sir Winston Churchill of Devon; at twelve years of age he was made one of the royal pages, but showing a preference for a military life, he got an ensigncy. He served in the auxiliary force under Monmouth in 1672, when he attracted the notice of the great Turenne. He attached himself to the duke of York, through whose influence he obtained a regiment and a Scottish barony; and when that prince came to the throne, he created him an English baron. Churchill married in 1681 the beautiful Sarah Jennings, maid of honour to the princess Anne.

Dartmouth, though sincerely attached to James, refused to abandon his religion. When admiral Herbert, a man of loose life and laden with the royal favours, refused him, James said to Barillon, that he never could put confidence in any man, however attached to him, who affected the character of a zealous protestant*.

The year 1686 closed with an act which convinced the people that the overthrow of their religion was the object really proposed by the king. This was the dismissal of Rochester from his office of treasurer, effected by the secret influence of Petre and Sunderland. The king was really attached to his brother-in-law, but he now told him that he must either go to mass or go out of office. Rochester's friends and the Spanish and Dutch ambassadors were desirous that he should keep office at any rate. A conference, it was agreed, should be held in his presence on the points in dispute between the two churches. At the end of it he desired a further delay to consider, but, as his object evidently was to gain time, the king consented to dismiss him. The treasury was then managed by a board, of which lord Bellasis, a catholic, was the head; and he, Powis, and Dover, were now members of the privy council. The king was also about to appoint father Petre to a seat in it, and he was only withheld from doing it by the entreaties of the queen†.

A dismissal of protestants from office and a resignation of commissions in the army soon followed. The king, previous to the meeting of parliament, wishing to ascertain the opinions of the members who held offices, summoned them separately to his closet in order to confer with them. The result of these 'closetings,' as they were named, proving unsatisfactory, they were either dismissed from their offices or they resigned. Their places were generally supplied with catholics.

* Burnet observes, that "at this time a man might be a bad Englishman, a worse Christian, and yet a good protestant."

† Burnet, iii., 102, *note*.

It being now evident that a sufficient number of the members of the established church could not be induced to betray it, the king was advised to endeavour to gain the nonconformists; not but that there were even on the episcopal bench men who set little value on religion as compared with their interest: such were Crew of Durham, Cartwright and Parker, to whom the king had lately given the sees of Chester and Oxford, knowing them to be men for his purpose, to whom may perhaps be added Sprat of Rochester, and one or two more. A declaration was issued accordingly, suspending the penal laws and forbidding the imposition of tests. Of this the dissenters took advantage, though dubious of the motives whence it proceeded; and many addresses of thanks were presented from them at court. The king in his self-delusion congratulated himself on the success of this measure in weakening the church party, and he now thought he might venture to attack them in their strongholds, the universities.

As Oxford had so strongly asserted the doctrine of passive obedience*, James commenced his attack on the church in that university. He appointed Massey, a fellow of Merton and a recent convert, to the deanery of Christ Church, and, true to its principles, the university made no opposition. The king next made trial of Cambridge. He wrote (Feb. 7, 1687) to the vice-chancellor, Dr. Peachell, commanding him to admit to the degree of master of arts, without the usual oaths, a Benedictine monk, named Alban Francis, who was acting as a missionary in that neighbourhood. Peachell refused, and he was summoned before the ecclesiastical commission; the university supported him,

* See above, p. 215. James, however, had been warned not to rest on this fragile reed. Lord Dartmouth (note on Burnet, ii. 440) says he was present when old bishop Morley desired his father to tell the duke of York from him, that, if ever he depended upon the doctrine of non-resistance, he would find himself deceived; for there were very few of that opinion, though there were not many of the church of England that thought proper to contradict it in terms, but he was very sure they would in practice. James, when reminded of this by lord Dartmouth, always replied, that the bishop was a very good man, but grown old and timorous.

and it ended in the compromise of the appointment of a new vice-chancellor and the withdrawal of the claim of Francis. Shamed or emboldened by the example of Cambridge, Oxford soon began to shake off its slavish trammels. On the death of the president of Magdalen college, letters mandatory were sent (Apr. 4), recommending Mr. Anthony Farmer, a man of low, dissolute habits, but a recent proselyte. The fellows petitioned the king, but to no purpose; they then proceeded to the election, and chose Mr. Hough (15th). They were summoned before the ecclesiastical commission, and the election was pronounced void. But Farmer was withdrawn, his character being too notorious, and they were directed to choose Parker bishop of Oxford (Aug. 14). They still refused, and when the king came to Oxford the following month on his progress, he chid them severely and insisted on their obedience. Still they would not yield. A commission was then issued, appointing extraordinary visitors of their college (Oct. 21), and Hough and twenty-five of the fellows were expelled and declared incapable of holding any clerical preferment (Dec. 10). The king thus gained a victory, but, as Lingard justly observes, "he had no reason to be proud of it, for it betrayed the hollowness of his pretensions to good faith and sincerity, and earned him the enmity of the great body of the clergy, and of all who were devoted to the interests of the church."

In the summer (July 3) the king had given another intimation of his designs, by publicly receiving D'Adda as the papal nuncio, a measure to which the pope had yielded an unwilling consent. He now advanced a step further, and by the royal command (Nov. 11) father Petre took his seat among the privy councillors, to the grief and dismay of the moderate catholics and the astonishment and vexation of the people.

The king had also dissolved the parliament (July 2). It was represented to him in vain, that in all points but that of religion this was a more compliant assembly than he

could ever again expect to obtain ; religion was with him *the* point, and he resolved to make the trial. In order to get a more complete control over the corporations, he appointed a board of seven Regulators, all catholics except the chancellor, with powers to appoint and remove officers and freemen at their discretion. To obtain county members to his purpose, the lords-lieutenant were directed to inquire of their deputies and the magistrates, whether, if elected to parliament, they would vote for the repeal of the test-act and the penal laws ; whether they would support candidates who would promise to do so ; and whether they would support the declaration. Loss of office was to be the penalty of non-compliance. This measure however did not succeed. Fourteen lords-lieutenant were removed, and their places supplied with catholics ; a like change was made among the sheriffs and in the magistracy ; yet, after all, James saw that he could not have a parliament to his mind, and of the house of lords there was no hope. Sunderland, however, had conceived the then unknown project of *swamping*, as it is termed, this house by a large creation. "O Silly!" cried he to lord Churchill, when the opposition of the peers was spoken of, "why your troop of guards shall be called to the house of lords*." This bold measure was not ventured on ; the king seemed inclined, if he could not get a pliant house of commons, to continue to rule by prerogative.

The Scottish parliament had proved as uncomplying as the English on the subject of religion. The king had there in like manner issued a proclamation, granting toleration to sectaries and suspending all laws against catholics, "by his sovereign authority, prerogative royal, and absolute power," words which he did not as yet venture to employ in England.

In Ireland the lord-lieutenancy had been given to lord Clarendon, but the command of the forces was separated

* Burnet, iii., 262, *note*.

from it for the first time, and entrusted to Richard Talbot*, now earl of Tyrconnel, an Irish catholic of the English race, a man of some talent but hardly any judgement; rude and boisterous in manners, with no control over his passions and appetites; handsome and showy in his person: he was in effect a genuine Anglo-Irishman of that day. Being in the confidence of the king, he treated the viceroy with insolence and contempt, and though the object for which he was sent was to raise the catholic interest, he could not refrain from insulting the native Irish by calling them the O's and Mac's. Having aided Sunderland in overthrowing the Hydes, he bullied him out of the chief government of Ireland, though he was known to be the enemy of the act of settlement, and the devoted slave of Louis XIV. He was appointed lord-deputy (Feb. 1687), and by the end of the year the catholics formed the majority in the privy council, the magistracy, the army, and the corporations. The chancellor and three-fourths of the judges, and all the king's council but one, were of this persuasion. The protestants now began to emigrate in great numbers; the officers sold their commissions for little or nothing, and sought service with the prince of Orange. The object of the king was to make Ireland an asylum for the catholics, and for himself if needful; but Tyrconnel had a deeper design, and he proposed to the French envoy, Bonrepaux, that in case of the succession of the prince of Orange, Ireland should become an independent state under the protection of France. To this project Louis gave a most willing consent, but it was studiously concealed from James, and even from Barillon. Yet suspicion was afloat; and it was one of the objects of Dyckveldt, whom the prince of Orange sent over in the beginning of the year, to ascertain the king's designs with respect to Ireland.

James now fondly deemed that the overthrow of the protestant church was nearly certain. The steadfastness of

* See above, p. 103, for his conduct with respect to the duchess of York.

his daughters in their religion had been to him a source of anxiety, as they might undo all his work; but an event had occurred which promised to relieve him from all apprehension. The queen, who had ceased from child-bearing for five years, announced that she was pregnant. This event, which the king and his friends ascribed to the efficacy of his prayers at St. Winifred's-well, which he had lately visited, or to the prayers on earth and intercession in heaven of the late duchess of Modena, was hailed by the whole catholic party with transports of joy, and they even, as formerly in the case of queen Mary*, ventured to assign the sex of the embryo. The protestants, on the other hand, openly expressed their doubts, and hesitated not to assert that those whose interest it was to have a prince of Wales would be at no loss to procure one.

We now enter on the year 1688, a year ever memorable in the annals of England, and even in those of the world. To the royal view the whole political horizon seemed calm and unclouded. The king had triumphed in his contest with the church; in his late progress he had been greeted and cheered by bodies of the dissenters, whom he took for the nation; he had the prospect of the birth of a son to exclude his heretical daughters, and to go on with the good work of spreading the true faith; London was even already putting on the appearance of a catholic city; monks and friars in their appropriate habits were to be seen parading the streets; a papal nuncio sanctified the court by his presence; and Corker, a Benedictine, who had been tried for his life during the popish plot, being appointed envoy by the elector of Cologne, the king insisted that he and his attendant monks should come to court in the habit of their order—a piece of bigoted folly which the more sagacious Louis XIV. strongly condemned. Finally, James had filled Magdalen-college with popish fellows; and on the death of bishop Parker (Mar. 23), Dr. Giffard, one of the

* See vol. ii., p. 120.

four catholic prelates whom he had induced the pontiff to consecrate for England, was by the royal mandate chosen to succeed him.

But all this triumph and all this security was fallacious ; the tempest was secretly brewing which was to level the fabric of despotism and superstition in the dust. The Tories, who had long been restrained by their notions of unlimited obedience, now alarmed for their religion by the queen's pregnancy, began to unite with the Whigs ; several influential noblemen were in secret correspondence with the prince of Orange, and an armed resistance to the crown with his aid was contemplated.

In this state of the national feeling, the king made his final and fatal step. Having caused (Apr. 25) his declaration for liberty of conscience to be republished with additions, he, by the advice of Petre it was said, afterwards (May 4) made an order of council that it should be read out in all the churches during the time of divine service, and the bishops were enjoined to distribute it for this purpose. The London clergy met and deliberated ; several were inclined to submit or to try to gain time ; but the more generous-spirited, being supported by a declaration of the leading nonconformists, calling on them to make a stand for religion and liberty, prevailed. The learned Dr. Patrick had the courage to be the first to put his signature to a refusal to comply ; it was then subscribed by eighty clergymen, and forwarded to Lambeth, where on the 12th, the primate, bishops Compton, Turner, and White, with Dr. Tennison and lord Clarendon, took it into consideration. It was resolved not to read the declaration, but to petition the king and to summon the other prelates to their aid. The call was quickly responded to by bishops Lloyd, Ken, and Trelawny, and on the 18th another meeting was held at Lambeth, at which Tillotson, Tennison, Stillingfleet, Patrick, Sherlock, and Grove assisted ; it was agreed to present without delay to the king a petition written by the primate and signed by himself, and bishops Lloyd, Ken,

Trelawny, Turner, White, and Lake. As the primate had been forbidden the court, the six prelates went to Whitehall at ten o'clock that very night, and were admitted into the royal bedchamber. They fell on their knees, and Lloyd presented the petition. The king when he had read it expressed his surprise, and said it was "a standard of rebellion," and spite of their professions of unshaken loyalty, he dismissed them with the assurance that he would maintain the dispensing power which God had given him, adding, "I tell you, there are seven thousand men, and of the church of England too, that have not bowed the knee to Baal." That very night the petition was printed and distributed through the city, though the bishops had given their only copy to the king, and he had never let it out of his possession.

The next Sunday (20th) was the first day for the reading of the Declaration in the churches. It was read only in seven; the country clergy, countenanced in general by their diocesans, were equally disobedient; and out of a body of ten thousand, not more than two hundred complied. On the very 20th of May, the venerable Richard Baxter, the renowned nonconformist who had been so often persecuted by the church, praised from his pulpit the bishops for their resistance to that Declaration by virtue of which he was then able to preach publicly. It was thus plain that all hopes from the dissenters were vanished. The whole church-party were firm to the prelates, and the king must now either yield at discretion or engage in a contest with all his protestant subjects.

In the council, Sunderland, the catholic lords, and even Jeffreys, were for moderation; but their opinions were overruled, and it was resolved to prosecute the bishops in the court of king's-bench. They were accordingly summoned before the privy-council (June 8), where, after some hesitation, they acknowledged their signatures; they were then required to enter into recognisances to appear at Westminster-hall; they declined, pleading their peerage;

a warrant for their committal to the Tower was then made out. As they proceeded to the barges which were to convey them to that fortress, the people vented their feelings in tears and prayers, and earnestly implored their blessing. Both banks of the river were lined with spectators, who fell on their knees and prayed for them. At the Tower the officers and men of the guard asked their blessing; and the men every day drank their health in spite of sir Edward Hales, the catholic lieutenant. The nobility of both sexes resorted daily to the Tower; a deputation of ten nonconformist ministers appeared there one day, and when reprimanded for it by the king, they replied, that they could not but adhere to the bishops as men constant to the protestant religion.

Had the king the prudence to recede, an opportunity was afforded him within two days by the birth of the prince of Wales (10th). His moderate advisers urged him then to publish a general amnesty, which would include the bishops; but his priestly guides and his own obstinacy determined him to proceed. On the 15th the prelates were brought up by *Habeas Corpus* in order to plead. The people at their landing received them as before; in the court they were attended by twenty-nine peers, ready to be their securities. Their counsel claimed a delay for them till the next term; but the court decided that they should plead at once. They pleaded Not Guilty, and were released on engaging to appear on the 29th. The popular joy burst forth in shouts and acclamations, and numbers again begged their blessings; when the primate landed at Lambeth, the soldiers there also fell on their knees to receive his blessing. Bonfires were lighted in the evening, and some catholics were insulted.

On the appointed day the bishops appeared in court, attended by a numerous troop of the nobility and gentry. Of the four judges, one, Allibone, was a catholic; two others, Wright (the chief) and Holloway, were the slaves of the court; one only, Powell, was impartial and honest:

the king had taken pains to have a jury returned that he could rely on; and at court there was not a doubt felt of the result.

The speech of the attorney-general was timid, and there was great difficulty in proving the signatures; a question then arose, whether the petition which had been written in Surrey, and not proved to have been published in Middlesex, could be tried in the latter county. At every failure of the crown-lawyers, the audience set up a laugh or a shout which the court was unable to repress. Wright began to sum up; but he was interrupted by Finch, one of the prisoners' counsel. Williams, the solicitor-general, then requested the court to wait for the appearance of a person of great quality. After a delay of an hour, lord Sunderland arrived in a chair, amid the hootings of the populace: he proved that the bishops came to him with a petition, and that he introduced them to the king. But now the counsel for the accused took new ground, and assumed a bolder tone; they arraigned the dispensing power; they maintained the right of the subject to petition. Wright and Allibone charged against, Holloway and Powell in favour of the prisoners. The jury retired at seven in the evening; the obstinacy of Arnold, the king's brewer, one of their number, kept them in debate till the morning, when at nine o'clock they came into court and pronounced their verdict Not Guilty. Instantly a peal of joy arose; it was taken up without; it spread over the city; it reached the camp at Hounslow, and was repeated by the soldiers. The king, who was dining with lord Feversham, on inquiring, was told it was nothing but their joy for the acquittal of the bishops: "Call you that nothing? It is so much the worse for them," was his reply.

The birth of his son might seem a sufficient consolation to the king under this defeat; but here too his usual ill-fortune pursued him. If ever there was a prince about whose birth there would seem to be no possibility of doubt, it was this prince of Wales. His mother had long since

spoken of her pregnancy; the birth took place in the morning, in the presence of the queen-dowager, most of the privy-council, and several ladies of quality, many of whom were protestants—yet not one in a thousand of the protestants believed in its reality. Some maintained that the queen had never been pregnant; others, that she had miscarried at Easter, and that one child, or even two successive children, had been substituted for the abortion. The princess Anne remained incredulous; so did the learned bishop Lloyd for many years. It was in fact a general delusion, from which neither reason nor good sense preserved men; it was most certainly no party-fiction, though party might, and did, take advantage of it.

The birth of the prince seems to have decided the unprincipled lord Sunderland to make public at this time his apostasy from the protestant faith*. He and the earl of Mulgrave, a man as devoid of principle as himself, had been privately reconciled by father Petre a year before.

On the other hand, the birth of the prince decided those who were in communication with the prince of Orange. While the next heir was a protestant, the attempts of James might be borne with patience, as they could only continue for a few years; but now there was born a successor who would be nurtured in popery, and a popish regency under the queen would be formed in case of the king's demise. No time was therefore to be lost; an invitation to the prince to come to the relief of the country was drawn out and signed in cypher (June 30), by the earls of Shrewsbury, Danby, and Devonshire, lord Lumley, the bishop of London, admiral Russell, and colonel Sidney. The bearer of it to Holland is supposed to have been admiral Herbert, in the disguise of a common sailor.

The prince of Orange, by far the greatest man of his time, had for many years devoted all his thoughts and energies to the humbling of the power of Louis XIV. In

* Even in 1671, Colbert the French envoy had said of Sunderland, "He has a great disposition to become a Roman-catholic."—Dalrymple, i., 123.

1686 he had succeeded in engaging the emperor, the kings of Spain and Sweden, and several of the German princes to subscribe the League of Augsburg, or Grand Alliance, of which this was the real object. The following year, some of the Italian states, the pope himself included, joined the league, and the greater part of Europe was thus banded, under the prince of Orange, to check the ambition of Louis. The proper place of England was in this confederation; but the policy of her king withheld her from it: hence the prince aspired to the power of directing her councils and adding her means to the great cause of national independence.

The death of the elector of Cologne in the spring of this year proved most favourable to the designs of the prince, as it brought Louis and the confederacy into collision. This elector, who also held the bishopricks of Liege, Munster, and Hildesheim, had proved a most useful ally to Louis in 1672; and all the efforts of this monarch were directed to procure the election of the coadjutor, the cardinal of Furstemberg, who was his creature, and to whom he had given the bishoprick of Strasburg, of which it was requisite that he should previously divest himself. The pope however, out of hostility to Louis, refused to accept his resignation; and at the election (July 9), though Furstemberg had a majority of votes over his competitor, prince Clement of Bavaria, he did not obtain the requisite two-thirds. The appointment then fell to the pope, and he named Clement, who was only a youth of seventeen years of age. The candidates of the allies were equally successful at Liege, Munster, and Hildesheim, and both sides now began to prepare for war. This gave the prince of Orange an opportunity of making his preparations for the invasion of England, under colour of providing for the defence of his own country and the empire. A large force was encamped near Nimeguen; cannon and ammunition were taken from the arsenals to be sent to it; soldiers and sailors were engaged; the Dutch navy was augmented, and

the different fleets were placed in adjoining ports. These mighty preparations naturally awakened the suspicions of D'Avaux, the French minister at the Hague; but it was long before he could get certain information of their object. When at length he ascertained that they were destined for the invasion of England, and had informed his court, Louis lost no time in communicating the intelligence to James, making at the same time an offer of his aid; but that infatuated prince refused to give credit to it. Skelton, the English minister at Paris, then proposed to Louis that D'Avaux should declare to the States that there was an alliance between his master and James, and that Louis would regard as a breach of peace any attempt against his ally. This manœuvre disconcerted the friends of the prince of Orange; but James, instead of seeking to derive advantage from it, in his silly pride took offence at it, denied the alliance, recalled Skelton, and committed him to the Tower. Had he owned the alliance, Louis would perhaps have made war on Holland, and thus have prevented the expedition of the prince; whereas he now declared war against the emperor alone, put his troops in motion, and laid siege to Philipsburg on the Upper Rhine (Sept. 14). All was now tranquil on the side of Holland; the prince found his motions unimpeded; and having arranged with his German allies for the defence of the republic during his absence, he lost no time in preparing for the invasion of England.

The eyes of James at length were opened to his danger, and he attempted to retrace his steps. Almost every day of the month of October was marked by some concession. He asked and graciously received the advice of the bishops; he restored the bishop of London and the president and fellows of Magdalen-college; he gave the city of London and the towns and boroughs back their charters; recalled the writs he had issued for a parliament, etc. Meantime he was active in preparing the means of resistance; a fleet of thirty-seven sail, with seventeen fire-ships, was

stationed at the Gun-fleet under lord Dartmouth, whose fidelity was beyond suspicion; he called out the militia; gave commissions for raising regiments and companies; recalled troops from Scotland and Ireland; and the army, under the command of lord Feversham, soon amounted to forty thousand men.

The prince of Orange had declarations prepared, addressed to the people of England and Scotland, stating the motives of his coming over, namely, to procure a free parliament; the redress of grievances; the security of the church; a comprehension for dissenters who desired it, and toleration for all others; and to inquire into the birth of the prince of Wales. He also wrote to his catholic allies, disclaiming all intention of injuring the king or his rightful heirs, and assuring them that he would employ all his influence to secure toleration for the catholics. The States issued a circular letter to the same effect.

The fleet collected for the invasion consisted of sixty men of war and seven hundred transports; the troops were 4500 horse and 11,000 foot. Marshal Schomberg and the counts of Nassau and Solms, with general Ginckel and other able Dutch officers; a band of eight hundred French refugees; the English exiles, such as lord Macclesfield, Dr. Burnet, and others, and those recently arrived, namely, the earl of Shrewsbury, who had raised 40,000*l.* for the expedition, the sons of the marquesses of Winchester and Halifax and of lord Danby, admirals Russell and Herbert—all prepared to share the fortunes of the prince.

The first full-moon after the equinox was the time appointed for sailing; but for the first half of October the wind blew tempestuously from the west. Public prayers to Heaven were made in all the churches; on the 13th the storm abated, and William then (15th) took a solemn leave of the States, commending to them the princess if anything should happen to himself. The aged pensionary Fagel replied in their name. The whole audience were deeply affected; William alone remained apparently un-

moved. A solemn fast was held on the 17th, and two days after the expedition sailed from Helvoetsaluys; but during the night a storm came on and dispersed the fleet, and next day the ships were obliged to return to the different ports to repair and to lay in additional stores. At length the 'Protestant East-wind,' as it was termed, came, and the prince again put to sea (Nov. 1). He first sailed northwards, intending to land in Yorkshire; but then changing his course he passed (3rd) between Dover and Calais; wind and tide prevented lord Dartmouth from attacking; the people of the opposite coasts gazed with various emotions on the magnificent spectacle of a fleet extending twenty miles in length and laden with the fate of empires. On Monday the 5th of November the fleet safely anchored at Torbay in Devon.

The king had in the interim been making new efforts to sustain his sinking power. He caused a solemn investigation to be made into the birth of the prince of Wales, and the numerous depositions to be enrolled in chancery, in order that his title, in case of his own death, might be put beyond doubt. He dismissed from his council (Oct. 27) Sunderland, whose fidelity, after all the lengths he had gone, was now suspected, and not wholly without reason. Father Petre had already ceased to appear at the council-board. As the prince had stated in his declaration that "he had been invited by divers lords spiritual and temporal," the king called upon the prelates and peers in the capital to admit or deny the truth of this assertion. They all denied it; for none of them had signed the invitation but bishop Compton, who adroitly evaded the question by saying, "I am confident the rest of the bishops will as readily answer in the negative as myself." The king insisted on having their denial in writing, with an 'abhorrence' of the designs of the prince; but this they declined to give (Nov. 6). He then left them in anger, telling them that he would trust to his army.

The prince was now at Exeter, but hardly any one as

yet had joined him, for the memory of 'Jeffreys's campaign' was still fresh in the minds of the people of Devon. He suspected that he was deceived, and he began to think of reembarking, being resolved on his return to Holland to publish the names of those who had invited him. At length sir Edward Seymour and some of the western gentry came in to him; and at the suggestion of Seymour, a bond of association was drawn out, engaging the subscribers to support one another in defence of the laws and liberties of the three kingdoms, the protestant religion, and the prince of Orange. They were followed by lord Colchester, lord Wharton, Mr. Russell, and the earl of Abingdon. Soon after (10th), lord Cornbury, son of the earl of Clarendon, attempted to carry over three regiments of horse that were stationed at Salisbury; but the far greater part of the officers and men proving loyal, he led but a small party to join the army of the prince. The ice was now broken; distrust spread through the whole army; the friends of the prince were emboldened; the lords Danby and Lumley began to raise men in Yorkshire, lord Delamere in Cheshire, and lord Devonshire in Derbyshire, and the adjoining counties.

James was strongly urged to seek an accommodation with the prince, but he still confided in the loyalty of his troops, and he resolved to put himself at their head. Father Petre, anxious perhaps for his own safety, pressed him to remain in London, as quitting it had been the ruin of his father. At his suggestion the infant prince was sent to Portsmouth, and he himself made his escape to France after the king's departure for the army.

On reaching Salisbury, James reviewed the troops that were there (20th). He was to go the next day to Warminster, to inspect the division of general Kirke, but a violent bleeding of the nose came on him, which continued, with intervals, for three days. During this time a council of war was held (22nd). Lord Churchill, the lieutenant-general, advised to remain at Salisbury; Feversham and

his brother, the count de Roye, proposed to retire behind the Thames. This last course was approved of by the king; and that very night Churchill, the duke of Grafton, and others went over to the prince, and they were followed by several of their officers in the morning. It is even said that Churchill, Kirke, and some other officers had conspired to seize the king at Warminster, and deliver him up to the prince.

The king on his return to London stopped the first night (24th) at Andover. He invited prince George of Denmark to sup with him. After supper, that prince, the duke of Ormond, and two others mounted their horses and rode off to the prince of Orange. When James reached London, the first news that met him was that of the flight of his daughter Anne. He burst into tears: "God help me," he cried; "my very children have forsaken me." The princess had left her bed-chamber in the night (25th) with lady Churchill and Mrs. Berkeley; the bishop of London and lord Dorset had a carriage ready for her, and she was conveyed to the bishop's house, and thence to Northampton. Disaffection now spread rapidly over the whole kingdom. Bristol, Hull, York, and other towns, were occupied by the adherents of the prince. The university of Oxford sent him its adhesion and an offer of its plate!

The first act of the king was to hold a great council of the peers who were in London, and by their advice he issued writs for a parliament, and sent lords Halifax, Nottingham, and Godolphin, as his commissioners, to treat with the prince; but some days elapsed before they were admitted to his presence, and meantime a spurious proclamation in his name, menacing all papists bearing arms or holding office, was circulated in London. James was now resolved on placing himself and his family under the protection of the king of France. He had his son brought back from Portsmouth, whence he could not now be conveyed; and, on a dark and stormy night (Dec. 9), the queen, with her babe and his nurse, crossed the river in an

open boat to Lambeth; but the expected carriage was not there, and they had to stand for some time, only sheltered by an old wall from the torrents of rain. At length the coach arrived, and the queen proceeded to Gravesend, where she got on board a yacht which conveyed her to Calais.

The king had promised the queen to follow her in twenty-four hours. The letter which he received next day (10th) from his commissioners, stating the prince's terms, made no change in his resolution. He wrote to lord Feversham, dispensing with the further services of the troops; and he called for and burned the writs for a parliament, and then retired to rest. At one in the morning (11th) he rose, and telling lord Northumberland, who lay on a pallet in his chamber, not to open the door till the usual hour in the morning, he went down the back stairs, and, being joined by sir Edward Hales, got into a hackney-coach and drove to the horse-ferry, and there getting into a small boat, crossed over to Vauxhall, throwing the great-seal into the river on his way. Horses were there ready for them, and at ten in the morning they reached Feversham, where they got on board a custom-house hoy which had been engaged for the purpose.

As soon as the news of the king's flight was known in London, the mob attacked the catholic chapels and the residences of the catholic ambassadors. Those who felt themselves to be obnoxious attempted to fly to the coast, but several were taken and committed to prison. Jeffreys was discovered at Wapping, in the disguise of a common sailor. It was with difficulty that he was saved from the rage of the mob. At his own desire he was committed to the Tower, where he died shortly afterwards. The nuncio, disguised as a footman of the ambassador of Savoy, was seized at Gravesend, but the prince sent him a passport without delay.

The government meantime was exercised by a council of peers, with the lord-mayor and aldermen. They sent a de-

claration of adhesion to the prince, on condition of his procuring a free parliament : but their deliberations were soon disturbed by tidings of the detention of the king. The hoy having stopped to get in more ballast, was boarded by three boats, and the crews, taking the king and his companions for jesuits, brought it back to Feversham. The king, being recognised, sent for lord Winchelsea, the lord-lieutenant of the county, and he was placed at the house of the mayor, whence he wrote (14th) to the supreme council at London, who forthwith ordered lord Feversham to take two hundred of the guards for the protection of the royal person. James, on being joined by them, resolved to return to the capital. He sent lord Feversham to the prince, who was now at Windsor, to propose a personal conference; but the envoy was placed under arrest, on the pretext of his having come without a passport.

The king, on reaching London (16th), was received with every demonstration of popular joy : the crowds shouted, the bells were rung, and the bonfires were kindled, in the usual manner. Next day he held a court, met his council, and exercised other acts of sovereignty. But the prince and his council had decided that James should not remain at Whitehall; and the following evening (17th) count Solms came with a body of the Dutch guards, and, having occupied St. James's, led them to Whitehall. Lord Craven, who commanded the English guards, was preparing to resist; but James, knowing opposition to be useless, repressed the ardour of the veteran of eighty, and the Dutch guards took the place of the English. A little before midnight the king went to rest, but he had not been long asleep when he was waked to receive the lords Halifax, Shrewsbury, and Delamere, who were come with a message from the prince. He had them admitted. They told him it was the prince's wish that, for the safety of his person, he should go to Ham-house in Surrey, where he would be attended by his own guards, and that he must depart at ten in the morning, as the prince would arrive by noon. James

objected to Ham, as damp and cold, and proposed Rochester. They departed, and returned at nine next morning (19th) with the requisite permission.

At noon the king took leave of the nobility and entered the royal barge, and went down the river, followed by a party of the Dutch guards in boats. The assembled crowds viewed with mournful looks this final departure of their sovereign, a captive in the hands of foreigners. James slept that night at Gravesend, and next day came to Rochester, where he remained for four days, deliberating on his further course. His friends in general urged him not to think of quitting the kingdom, as it was the very course his enemies seemed to wish him to adopt; for, though the front of the house in which he resided was guarded, the rear was neglected. He sent, offering to place himself in the hands of the prelates, if they would answer for his safety; but they declined so delicate a charge. He then resolved on flight, to which he was moreover urged by a letter from the queen; and, having written a declaration explanatory of his motives, and informed some friends of his design, he went to bed as usual (22nd). After midnight he rose, and, with his natural son the duke of Berwick and three other persons, he went out through the garden. A fishing-smack had been hired to convey him to France, but the weather was so rough that he could not reach it. He got on board the *Eagle* fire-ship, where he was received with all marks of respect by the crew, and next morning (24th) he embarked in the smack. On Christmas-day he landed at Ambleteuse in Picardy, and he hastened to join his queen at St. Germain. His reception by Louis was cordial and generous.

As the reign of this ill-judging prince had now reached its close, we will here insert his character as drawn in true but more favourable colours than one might have expected by the pen of bishop Burnet. "He was a prince that seemed made for greater things than will be found in the course of his life, more particularly of his reign. He was

esteemed in the former parts of his life a man of great courage, as he was quite through it, a man of great application to business. He had no vivacity of thought, invention or expression, but he had a good judgement where his religion or his education gave him not a bias, which it did very often. He was bred with strange notions of the obedience due to princes, and came to take up as strange ones of the obedience due to priests. He was naturally a man of truth, fidelity and justice, but his religion was so infused in him and he was so managed in it by his priests, that the principles which nature had laid in him had little power over him when the concerns of his church stood in the way. He was a gentle master, and was very easy to all who came near him, yet he was not so apt to pardon as one ought to be that is the vicegerent of that God who is slow to anger and ready to forgive. He had no personal vices but of one sort; he was still wandering from one amour to another; yet he had a real sense of sin, and was ashamed of it. . . . In a word, if it had not been for his popery, he would have been, if not a great, yet a good prince."

To resume our narrative. At two o'clock on the day of the king's departure from the capital, the prince of Orange came to St. James's. All classes crowded to do him homage. He summoned the lords spiritual and temporal to meet on the 21st, to consider the state of the nation. They came on the appointed day, to the number of about seventy: five lawyers, in the absence of the judges, were appointed to assist them. It was proposed that they should previously sign the Exeter Association: the temporal peers, with four exceptions, subscribed; the prelates, all but Compton, refused. Next day (22nd) they met in the house of peers, and, having chosen lord Halifax their speaker, issued an order for all papists, except householders and some others, to remove ten miles from London. On Christmas-day they resolved that the prince should be requested to take on him the administration of all public affairs till the

22nd of January, and to issue letters for persons to be elected to meet as a convention on that day. The following day all those who had served in any of the parliaments of Charles II., and were in town, with the aldermen and fifty common-council-men, waited on the prince by invitation, and thence went to the house of commons, where next day (27th) they voted an address similar to that of the peers. The prince accepted the charge, and issued the letters of summons for the convention. Next day, being Sunday, he received the sacrament according to the rites of the church of England.

On the 22nd of January, 1689, the memorable Convention met. A joint address of thanks and praying him to continue the administration of affairs was presented to the prince. After a few days' necessary delay, the commons entered on the great question of the state of the nation (28th); and it was resolved, "That king James II. having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom by breaking the original contract between king and people; and, by the advice of jesuits and other wicked persons, having violated the fundamental laws, and having withdrawn himself out of this kingdom, has abdicated the government, and that the throne is thereby become vacant." Next day it was resolved, "That it hath been found by experience to be inconsistent with the safety and welfare of this protestant kingdom to be governed by a popish prince." It is remarkable that this is the very principle of the exclusion-bill which had brought such odium on its supporters.

In the lords, this last vote was unanimously agreed to, but various questions arose on the former. The first was, supposing the throne vacant, whether they would have a regent or a king. It was decided in favour of the latter by a majority of only two. It was then carried, that there was an original contract between king and people. For the word 'abdicated' they substituted 'deserted;' and they struck out the clause declaring the throne to be va-

cant, as it was maintained that the crown devolved to the princess of Orange. To these amendments the commons refused to agree. Two conferences took place between committees of the houses, which terminated in the lords giving way to the firmness of the commons, though their arguments were clearly superior on the principles of the constitution and of common sense; but the cogent motive was political necessity. The wholesome regard for the forms of the constitution certainly involved the whigs in apparent absurdity, for the word 'abdicated' it was acknowledged was used in an improper sense; 'deserted' was in truth no better, but it sounded softer; the proper word was 'forfeited,' but all parties shrank from employing it.

The throne being vacant, the next question was, by whom it should be filled. The young prince of Wales was passed over by common consent; for his birth should be previously inquired into; and should his legitimacy be proved, as there was no doubt but that he would be brought up a catholic, it would be necessary to appoint a protestant regent, and then the strange appearance might be presented of a succession of kings with the rights and title of the crown, and of regents exercising all its powers. The simple course seemed to be, to make the princess of Orange queen; but the prince signified his dislike of that, saying he would not hold anything by apron-strings, and threatening to return to Holland; the princess had also strongly expressed her disapprobation of it. It was finally resolved (Feb. 12) that the prince and princess of Orange should be king and queen during their lives and that of the survivor, but the sole exercise of the royal power to be in the former; the succession to go to the heirs of the princess, and in default of such issue, to the princess Anne and her heirs, and, in *their* default, to those of the prince of Orange.

The princess landed that very evening, and next day (13th) she and the prince, seated on a throne at Whitehall, received the two houses. A declaration of rights which

had been agreed on having been read to them, lord Halifax, in the name of the two houses, made them a solemn tender of the crown. The prince made a brief reply, accepting the proffered crown, and declaring his resolution to support their religion, laws, and liberties, and to promote the welfare of the kingdom. King William and queen Mary were proclaimed that same day with the usual ceremonies.

Such was the Revolution of 1688, justly, we think, termed GLORIOUS. It terminated the struggle, which had continued from the reign of John, between the crown and people of England. We have seen the barons and commons lay various restraints on the despotism of the Plantagenets; but when the power of the barons had declined, the crown, relieved from the pressure, rose with renovated vigour in the line of Tudor. The Stuarts, with inferior ability, and thwarted by a more formidable opposition, sought to uphold the authority to which they had succeeded; the result was, a civil war, the shedding of royal blood on the scaffold, and a military despotism. Untaught by experience, the restored Stuarts laboured to free their authority from all constitutional check, and, had they left the national religion untouched, they might have long, perhaps, continued to trample with impunity on the national liberties; but James in his folly attempted to overturn the church, and the nation rose and drove him from the throne. For, however men might seek to deceive themselves by specious terms, such was the real fact; James did not *abdicate*, he was *expelled*; and the house of Brunswick now occupies the throne by the choice of the nation, and not by hereditary right. The line of succession was broken when William III. was placed on the throne; indefeasible right was at an end; but the monarchy, with its prerogative, remained uninjured.

It is this last circumstance that appears chiefly to cause

our republican writers of the present day to vilify the Revolution, and pour forth their gall on its authors. They are angry that that worst of despotisms, a democracy, was not substituted for the ancient constitution of England, and they are therefore anxious to fix every possible stigma on the memory of king William and the other agents in effecting the change*. A measure of policy, however, is not dependent for its moral quality on the characters of those who accomplish it; and we may freely grant that Danby and some of the other signers of the Invitation were not men of immaculate virtue, and that there were instances of treachery and ingratitude; yet still these men merited well of their country, for the risk they ran, in case of failure, was tremendous; and it ill becomes those who are enjoying the benefit of their services to delight in heaping obloquy on their names.

It may be useful here to take a view of the changes which the constitution underwent during the period that the throne was occupied by the four kings of the house of Stuart.

When James I. was called to the throne of England, the crown was in possession of an enormous prerogative. All the feudal rights of the Anglo-Norman and Plantagenet monarchs, together with the Star-chamber and court of

* See for example the anonymous continuation of Mackintosh's History of the Revolution. The following passage is really curious: "If," says the writer, "the existence of James presented itself as a bar to the ambition of the prince of Orange, can it be supposed for a moment that the most aspiring of politicians and phlegmatic of Dutchmen would have seen in his wife's father anything but a political unit of human life?" He more than once hints that William had been concerned in the murder of the De Witts (see above, p. 143). He says that "James should have been unkinged by an act of the nation; (i. e., it would appear, have been brought to a public trial) for tyrants, like other criminals, should be tried before they are judged." "But for that mode," he adds, "there was not enough of exalted justice and superior reason in the realm." While he takes the narrative of Sheffield lord Mulgrave as a faithful guide, he treats Burnet *de haut en bas* as a shameless and abandoned liar. Our own opinion of this excellent prelate is, that he was prejudiced, credulous and precipitate, and a little too prying and meddlesome; but that he was strictly honest, and wrote nothing but what he believed to be the truth.

High-commission and the other despotic institutions of the Tudors combined to strengthen the sovereign against the people and seemed to give him a power nearly irresistible. But the love of liberty innate in the Anglo-Saxon race and the powerful influence of the reformed religion united to compose a check to it; the folly of the first Stuart in advancing claims of divine and indefeasible right to sovereignty, which he had not courage to put to the proof, and the still greater folly of the second in attempting to reduce the theory of his pedantic sire to practice, roused the nation to opposition. The result has been related. At the very outset of the national resistance, the oppressive courts of Star-chamber and High-commission were swept away; the exercise of the feudal rights ceased, and one of the first acts of the Restoration was their legislative abolition.

With the Restoration there was an end to arbitrary and illegal taxation; the revenue of the crown was fixed; no money could be raised but by act of parliament, and the house of commons claimed and maintained the exclusive right to originate all money-bills. A still more important principle was established in 1665, namely, that of appropriating the supplies, which has since been rarely departed from, and which of necessity drew after it the practice of laying estimates before the house of commons. Henceforth that branch of the legislature has had an effectual control over the public expenditure, and is thus become a sharer in the executive.

The *Habeas-corpus* act put an end to arbitrary imprisonment; its efficacy can only be suspended by an act of the legislature. Royal proclamations ceased to encroach on the supremacy of parliament and the rights of the people. Few infractions of positive law were committed by the two last Stuarts; their encroachments on liberty were effected by means of compliant parliaments and servile and dependent lawyers.

Many evils however still remained. Judges were re-

moveable at pleasure, and could not therefore act independently; juries were still occasionally called to account for their verdicts. The press was not yet released from its shackles: these had been originally imposed by the Tudors; the number of presses and of men employed at them was limited, and every publication had to be previously submitted to a licenser. This was too powerful an instrument of despotism to be given up by the Long Parliament, and at no time was the press more jealously watched than during the Commonwealth; at the Restoration Clarendon took care that it should not be emancipated. The act for restraining the liberty of the press, however, expired in 1679. From that date it has, with a brief interruption*, been free in England, and the unsightly *imprimatur* no longer disfigures our books.

The great check on oppression by those in authority at the present day is the public press, which gives publicity to every act of injustice and arouses the general indignation against it. But in consequence of the slowness of communication and the want of public journals, the press was of little force in the time of the Stuarts, and numerous victims perished in prisons unknown and unlamented. Imprisonment alone was in those days (and it certainly had not been better in the earlier periods) a most grievous punishment. The prisons were noisome and filthy beyond conception, and the power of the gaoler was uncontrolled. There was no classification of prisoners; the pious sufferer for conscience, the learned minister of the Gospel, was confounded with the robber and the murderer, obliged to lie on straw, and exposed to cold, hunger, and disease. The mortality in the prisons was enormous, and the gaol-fever, as it was significantly named, which often rushed from them at the time of the assizes, has swept away the bench, the bar, and the jury.

* The act was revived in 1685 for seven years, but finally expired in 1693.

Such then was the condition of England at the time of the expulsion of the House of Stuart. It is plain that the constitution had been considerably advanced and improved, but that it was still short of perfection. The trade of the country had also made corresponding advances, and it was during this period that England became properly speaking a great maritime power.

HOUSE OF STUART.—PART II.

CHAPTER I.

WILLIAM III. AND MARY II.*

1689—1694.

Convention parliament.—Affairs of Scotland.—Battle of Killcrankie.—Affairs of Ireland.—Siege of Derry.—Irish parliament.—Battle of the Boyne.—English parliament.—Conspiracy.—Taking of Athlone.—Battle of Aghrim.—Siege of Limerick.—Massacre of Glenco.—Battle of La Hogue.—Plots to restore James.—Death of the queen.

THE new reign was commenced (Feb. 14.) with a proclamation confirming all protestants in the offices which they held. The king then nominated the privy-council and appointed to the offices of state; in both cases selecting from the ranks of whigs and tories, with a preponderance however of the former. Danby was made president of the council; Halifax, privy-seal; Nottingham and Shrewsbury, secretaries of state. The treasury, admiralty, and chancery, were put into commission.

Judging it inexpedient, under the present circumstances of the country, to risk the experiment of a new election, the king and council resolved to convert the convention into a parliament. This was effected by the simple expedient of the king's going in state to the house of peers (18th), and addressing both houses from the throne. A bill declaring the lords and commons assembled at Westminster to be the two houses of parliament was then passed,

* Authorities :—Burnet, Harris, Oldmixon, &c.

and the royal assent being given (23rd), the convention became a parliament. In this act a new oath to be taken on the first of March was substituted for the old ones of allegiance and supremacy. It was refused by the primate and seven of his suffragans*; and among the temporal peers, by the duke of Newcastle, the earls of Lichfield, Exeter, Yarmouth, and Stafford, and the lords Griffin and Stawell. Hence the party of which they were the heads derived the name of Nonjurors; their principle was a blind, stupid veneration for absolute power, and for the hereditary divine rights of princes—a principle, if followed out, utterly subversive of every kind of liberty†.

A Bill of Rights the same in substance with the Declaration of Rights was passed. One of its provisions was, that all persons holding communion with the church of Rome, or marrying a papist, should be excluded from the crown and government, and that in such cases the people should be absolved from their allegiance, and the crown should descend to the next heir being a protestant.

The settlement of the revenue was an important question. The courtiers maintained that the revenue settled on the late king for life came of course to the present king; but the commons could only be induced to grant it for one year. They readily granted a sum of 600,000*l.* to remunerate the States for the expense they had been at; and on information of king James having landed in Ireland, they voted funds for an army and navy.

The coronation took place on the 11th of April; the bishop of London officiating in place of the nonjuring primate. Several titles and honours had previously been conferred. The marquess of Winchester was made duke of Bolton; lords Mordaunt and Churchill, earls of Monmouth

* Namely, Turner of Ely, Ken of Bath, Lake of Chichester, White of Peterborough, Lloyd of Norwich, Thomas of Worcester, and Frampton of Gloucester.

† The pernicious distinction between a king *de jure* and a king *de facto*, now first came into operation. It answers no purpose but to foster disloyalty and occasion rebellion.

and Marlborough; Henry Sidney, viscount Sidney; the king's Dutch favourite Bentinck, earl of Portland, etc. Shortly after (24th), the earl of Danby was created marquess of Carmarthen. The celebrated Dr. Burnet was also rewarded for his exertions in the cause of civil and religious liberty by being raised to the see of Salisbury. The judicial bench was purified and filled with men of sound constitutional principles; Holt, Pollexfen, and Atkins being placed at the head of the three law-courts: Treby was made attorney- and Somers* solicitor-general.

It was the earnest wish of the king and of the more liberal statesmen, to reward the dissenters for their meritorious conduct during the late crisis by removing all disqualifications under which they laboured. It was first attempted to have the sacramental test omitted in the new oaths; but that failing, a bill was brought in to exempt them from the penalties of certain laws. This, named the 'Act of Toleration,' was passed: though the catholics were not included in it, they felt the benefit of it, and William always treated them with lenity. A bill of comprehension passed the lords, but miscarried in the commons. The attainders of lord Russell, Algernon Sidney, alderman Cornish, and Mrs. Lisle, were reversed. Johnson's sentence was annulled, and he received 1000*l.* and a pension†.

William's main object, as we have seen, was to engage England in the great confederacy lately formed against the French king. As Louis was now openly assisting king James, the commons presented an address (Apr. 26) assuring the king of their support in case he should think fit

* Somers was the son of a highly respectable attorney at Worcester, and having graduated at Oxford he went to the bar. He distinguished himself as one of the counsel for the seven bishops, and he was one of the managers in the conference between the two houses at the time of the Revolution. He was henceforth regarded as a leader of the whig party.

† Among those rewarded at this time was the notorious Titus Oates.

to engage in the war with France. William required no more; he declared war without delay (May 7).

We must now take a view of the state of affairs in Scotland and Ireland at this time.

As Scotland had been the victim of a civil and religious despotism such as the Stuarts had never dared to exercise in England, the friends of William were necessarily the majority in that country. After the flight of James, such of the Scottish nobility and gentry as were in London presented an address to the prince, vesting in him the administration and the revenue, and requesting him to call a convention of the states of Scotland. With this request he of course complied; and when the convention met (Mar. 14), the whigs had a decided majority. It was voted, that king James "had forfeited [forfeited] the right of the crown, and the throne was become vacant." On the 11th of April William and Mary were proclaimed king and queen of Scotland, and three deputies were sent to London to administer to them the coronation-oath. The convention was converted into a parliament as in England.

The adherents of the late king, foiled in the convention, resolved to appeal to force; the duke of Gordon, a catholic, refused to surrender the castle of Edinburgh, of which he was governor; and Graham of Claverhouse (now viscount Dundee), the ruthless persecutor of the Cameronians, fired with the idea of emulating the fame of Montrose, quitted Edinburgh with a party of fifty horse and directed his course toward the Highlands. General Mackay, who had been sent with five regiments from England, was despatched in pursuit of him. Dundee succeeded in drawing together a good body of Highlanders; he got possession of the castle of Blair in Athol; and James sent him from Ireland lavish promises and a corps of about three hundred men. Dundee had retired into Lochaber, when hearing that lord Murray was pressing the castle of

Blair and that Mackay was coming to his aid, he rapidly returned, drove off lord Murray, and as Mackay was now coming through the pass of Killicrankie, he resolved to give him battle in the plain between the pass and the castle (May 26). The superiority in numbers and discipline was greatly on the side of the troops of Mackay; but the Highlanders, in their usual manner, having discharged their muskets, fell on with their broadswords and targets, and speedily routed their opponents with the loss of fifteen hundred slain, five hundred and all their artillery taken. The victory on the part of Dundee was complete; but he lived not to improve it, as he received a wound in the action of which he died next day. There was no one to take his place; the clans gradually laid down their arms and took advantage of the pardon offered by king William. The duke of Gordon also submitted and delivered up the castle of Edinburgh (June 13), and the cause of James became hopeless in Scotland. The abolition of episcopacy and the re-establishment of presbytery took place soon after; and thus finally terminated the struggle between the crown and the people of Scotland on the subject of religion.

It was different in Ireland, where the whole power of the state was in the hands of the catholics. Tyrconnel had at first signified an inclination to submit to William, who had sent over general Hamilton, one of the officers of James's army, with proposals to him; but Hamilton proved a traitor and advised against submission; and Tyrconnel, whose only object had been to gain time, had already sent to assure James of his fidelity. He also disarmed the protestants in Dublin, and he augmented his catholic army. It has always been the fate of the Irish protestants to have their interests postponed to those of party in England; and they were now neglected by William. It is said by some, that Halifax suggested this course to him, as if Ireland submitted he would have no pretext for keeping up an army, on which his retention of England depended; but in truth he does

not seem to have had an army to send at that time; he could not rely on the English troops*, and he therefore could not venture to part with the foreigners.

James embraced a resolution worthy of a sovereign: having obtained from Louis a supply of arms, ammunition and money, with some officers, and collected about twelve hundred of his own subjects, he hastened to Brest, and embarking in a French fleet of twenty-one sail, proceeded to Ireland. He landed in safety at Kinsale (Mar. 12). At Cork he was met by Tyrconnel, who gave him an account of the state of affairs. He described the army as numerous, but ill-armed; and the protestants as being in possession of Ulster alone. On the 24th the king made his solemn entrance into Dublin amid the acclamations of the catholics. He was met by a procession of popish prelates and priests in their habits, bearing the host, which he publicly adored. He forthwith removed all the protestant members of the council. He issued proclamations; by one raising the value of the current coin; by another summoning a parliament for the 7th of May; and having created Tyrconnel a duke, he set out for his army in the north.

The only towns that offered resistance were Londonderry and Enniskillen. The people of the former had shut their gates against lord Antrim's regiment, and bidden defiance to the lord-lieutenant. They sent to England for assistance, and two regiments under colonels Cunningham and Richards arrived in Lough Foyle; but on the intelligence of the approach of king James, these officers, agreeing with Lundy the governor that the plate was not tenable, reembarked their troops. An officer was sent to negotiate with Hamilton, who commanded the Irish army, and he agreed that the king's troops should halt within four miles of the town; James, however, on arriving, set this agree-

* In the month of March two Scottish regiments actually mutinied, and having disarmed some of their officers, and seized the money provided for their pay, set out for their own country. This gave occasion for passing the first mutiny-bill, which has ever since been annually renewed.

ment at nought; but he was obliged to retire with disorder. The cowardly governor now refused to act, and stole out of the place in disguise to escape the indignation of the people. They appointed in his room major Baker and a clergyman named George Walker, who had raised a regiment for the protestant cause. Their works were slight, their cannon few and bad, and they had no engineer, the men had never seen service, their stock of provisions was small, and they were besieged by a large army well supplied and commanded by able officers; yet the brave protestants dreamed not of surrender.

On the 20th of April the batteries commenced playing on the town; the attacks of the besiegers were gallantly repelled; but the want of provisions soon began to be felt. General Kirke now arrived in the lough with troops and supplies; but the enemy had placed a boom across the river and raised batteries, which prevented him from sailing up. He sent to the governors, urging them to hold out, and promising to make a diversion in their favour.

The king at this time went up to Dublin to hold his parliament, leaving the command with the French general Rosen. This officer, inured to his master's barbarous dealings with his own subjects as well as foreigners, and incensed at the gallant resistance of the besieged, sent out parties of dragoons, and collecting all the protestants, men, women, and children, within a circuit of thirty miles, to the number of four thousand, drove them under the walls of Derry, there to perish if the garrison did not surrender. The king, who had given protections to most of these people, sent orders to the general to desist; but his mandate was unheeded; the threat of the garrison to hang all their prisoners was of more avail; and after three days' starvation, the poor people were permitted to return to their homes, which had meantime been plundered by the papists. Several hundreds of them died with fatigue and hunger.

Famine was now raging in the town; horses, dogs, cats,

rats and mice, and even starch, tallow, and salted hides, were the only food of the garrison, and these were nearly exhausted, when Kirke, who had retired, re-appeared in Lough Foyle. He ordered two transports and a frigate to sail up the river; the batteries from both banks thundered on them, while the garrison gazed with anxiety from their walls. The Mountjoy transport ran against the boom and broke it, but the shock drove her aground; the enemy attempted to board her; she fired a broadside and righted. The three vessels then sailed up to the town, and that very night (July 31) the besieging army retired, having lost between eight and nine thousand men before the heroic town. The besieged had lost three thousand—nearly the half of their original number. The Enniskilleners showed equal courage, and defeated the papists wherever they encountered them.

The houses of parliament which met in Dublin were filled with popish members, the protestants not exceeding half a dozen in either house. James, in his speech, made his usual parade of respect for the rights of conscience; and in a subsequent declaration he expatiated on his regard and favour to his protestant subjects. One of his earliest measures, however, was to give his assent to an act for robbing them of their properties. A bill was introduced into the lower house for repealing the Act of Settlement; it was received with shouts of joy, passed at once, and transmitted to the lords. Here the protestant bishop of Meath fully exposed its iniquity, as it made no allowance for improvements, gave no time for the removal of cattle or corn, made no provision for widows, paid no regard to the rights of *bond fide* purchasers, etc. In England such considerations of equity would have been attended to; in Ireland there has always been a magnanimous contempt for truth, justice, and humanity, when the purposes of party are to be served. Fitton, the popish chancellor, a man who had actually been convicted of forgery, paid little heed to the arguments of the prelate. The bill passed;

in vain the purchasers under the Act of Settlement petitioned the king; he replied, "that he would not do evil that good might come of it;" yet he gave his assent to the bill.

The preamble of the bill declared the Irish innocent of rebellion in 1641, and it vested in the king the real estates of all who did not acknowledge him, or who aided or corresponded with those who had rebelled against him since the 1st of August, 1688, that is to say, of nearly every Irish protestant who could write. This was followed by an act of attainder against between two and three thousand persons, by name, of all orders and sexes from the peer to the yeoman, of whom, as Nagle, the speaker of the commons, said to the king on presenting the bill, "many were attainted on such evidence as satisfied the house, and the rest on common fame." By a clause in the act, the king was even deprived of the power of pardoning any of the proscribed after the first of November. Meantime the act was carefully concealed from its victims, being kept close in the custody of the chancellor.

As a further means of robbing the protestants, a base coinage of brass, bell-metal, tin and pewter, was issued, at the rates of coin of the precious metals, and ordered to be taken in all kinds of payments. When the protestants attempted to get rid of the base metal thus forced on them, by purchasing with it corn, hides, etc., the king fixed his price on these articles, seized them to his own use, and paid for them in his bell-metal coin. Yet the catholics after all were the chief losers, for they happened to be the principal holders of the base money when James fled from Ireland.

To ruin the protestant clergy, the catholics were directed to pay their tithes to their own priests. As livings became vacant, they were filled with popish incumbents. The fellows of Trinity College having refused to admit a papist named Green into their body, they were all expelled, and their plate and other property was seized. A respect-

able catholic named Moore was made provost, and he saved the library from the soldiery. Even the protestant worship was suppressed, for an order was issued forbidding more than five protestants to meet together for any purpose on pain of death.

While James was thus exemplifying his notions of religious liberty, William was preparing the means of recovering Ireland. A force consisting of eighteen regiments of foot and five of horse having been levied, the command was given to duke Schomberg. But various delays occurred, and it was late in the summer (Aug. 13) when the duke landed at Bangor in Down, with a body of ten thousand men, leaving the remainder to follow. He invested Carrickfergus, which surrendered after a siege of a few days. The enemy continually retired before him, and he reached Dundalk on his way to Dublin. As he had not yet got over his artillery, and he was weak in cavalry, he did not deem it prudent to proceed. He fortified his camp, but the site he had chosen was damp and unhealthy, being surrounded by mountains and bogs. Disease soon spread its ravages among his troops; king James advanced up to the camp at the head of his army, but the cautious marshal would not accept the offer of battle, and the king drew off. At length, after losing one half of his men by disease, Schomberg placed his army in winter-quarters in the northern towns.

This year was marked by only one naval engagement. Louis had sent a squadron under count Chateau-Renault, to convoy some transports with supplies to Ireland. Herbert, who had been sent to intercept them, having been driven by stress of weather into Milford-haven, they got safe into Bantry-bay. When Herbert found them there (May 1), he stood in to attack them though he was much inferior in force. The French weighed and stood out; Herbert tried in vain to get the weather-gage, and after a running fight of some hours he bore away, leaving the

honour of the day to the French*. On his return to Portsmouth, as the crews were discontented with their want of success, king William came down, dined aboard the admiral's ship, knighted captains Ashby and Shovel, and gave the men ten shillings each. Herbert was soon after created earl of Torrington.

In the spring (1690), Schomberg having received supplies, and a reinforcement of seven thousand Danish troops, and his men being now in good health, besieged and took (May 12) the fort of Charlemont. James had received six thousand French troops, under count Lausun, in exchange for as many Irish, but they embarrassed more than they served him, and he remained inactive. William meantime, aware of the importance of reducing Ireland, had resolved to conduct the war there in person. He landed at Carrickfergus (June 14), and declaring that "he was not come to let the grass grow under his feet," summoned all his troops to his standard. On reviewing them at Loughbrickland, he found himself at the head of thirty-six thousand effective men. He moved southwards without delay: James, who had left Dublin for his army (16th), advanced to Dundalk, but not thinking that post tenable, he fell back and took a position near Oldbridge, on the right bank of the river Boyne, near Drogheda, with a bog on his left and the pass of Duleek in his rear. His army is said to have numbered thirty-three thousand men†. On the morning of the last day of June, the English army reached the Boyne. William rode out to reconnoitre the enemy; he was recognised, and two pieces of cannon were secretly planted behind a hedge opposite an eminence where he had sat down to rest. As he was mounting his horse, they were fired, and one of the balls having touched the bank of the river, rose and grazed his right shoulder, tear-

* When D'Avaux, the French ambassador, told James that the French had defeated the English, he peevishly replied, *C'est bien la première fois donc.*

† He says himself (*Life*, ii. 393) it was not more than 20,000, while he makes that of William from 40,000 to 50,000.

ing his coat and flesh. His attendants gathered round him, a cry of joy rose in the Irish camp, the news of his death flew to Dublin, and thence to Paris, where the firing of cannon and lighting of bonfires testified the exultation of Louis.

The armies cannonaded each other during the remainder of the day. At nine o'clock at night William held a council, and gave his orders for the battle next day; at twelve he rode by torchlight through the camp; the word given was WESTMINSTER; each soldier was directed to wear a green bough in his hat, as the enemy was observed to wear white paper. The army was to pass the river in three divisions; the right, led by young Schomberg and general Douglas, at the ford of Slane; the centre, under Schomberg himself, in front of the camp; and the left, under the king, lower down toward Drogheda.

Early next morning (Tuesday, July 1) the right division set out for Slane, where it forced the passage, and passing the bog drove off the troops opposed to it. The centre crossed unopposed; on the further bank they met a vigorous resistance, but they finally forced the enemy to fall back to the village of Donore, where James stood a spectator of the battle. William meantime had crossed at the head of his cavalry; the Irish horse, led by Hamilton, fought gallantly, but they were broken at length, and their commander made a prisoner*. Lausun now urged James to remain no longer, but to retire with all speed to Dublin before he was surrounded. He forthwith quitted the field; his army then poured through the pass of Duleek, and forming on the other side retreated in good order. Their loss had been fifteen hundred men, that of the victors was only a third of that number, among whom were duke Schomberg, and Walker, the brave governor of Derry.

* William asked Hamilton if he thought the Irish would fight any more. "Upon my honour," said he, "I believe they will; for they have yet a good body of horse." "Honour!" said William: "*your* honour!" This Hamilton is said to be the author of 'The Memoirs of the Count de Grammont.'

James stopped only one night in Dublin; he fled to Duncannon, where, finding a French vessel, he got on board and landed safely at Brest (10th).

William reached Dublin on the third day after his victory (4th). He issued a proclamation promising pardon to all the inferior people engaged in the war, but excepting the leaders. He then advanced southwards and reduced Waterford; but hearing of a victory gained by the French fleet and a descent on the coast of England, he returned to Dublin, deeming his presence necessary in England. Finding, however, the danger not to be so great as he had apprehended, he resolved to remain and finish the war. He advanced and laid siege to Limerick (Aug. 9), but his artillery was intercepted on its way from Dublin and destroyed by general Sarsfield, and an attempt to storm (27th) having failed with great loss, he raised the siege and retiring to Waterford embarked for England (Sept. 5), leaving the command with count Solms and general Ginckel. The earl of Marlborough, who had commanded the British troops in the Netherlands this year, having proposed the reduction of Cork and Kinsale, landed at the former place (21st) with five thousand men, and being joined by the prince of Wurtemberg with an equal number of his Danes, he in the space of twenty-three days obliged both places to surrender. The French troops in Ireland now returned home, leaving the Irish to their fate.

We now return to England to notice the state of affairs there for the last twelvemonth.

The parliament which had been prorogued having met again (Oct. 19), the king in his speech pressed on them the necessity of a supply for carrying on the war; he also strongly urged the passing of a bill of indemnity. They readily voted a supply of two millions; but the whigs, with the natural jealousy of power, wishing to keep the lash over the heads of their rivals the tories, threw every possible obstruction in the way of the indemnity; im-

peachments were menaced against those who had turned papists; a committee was appointed to inquire who were the advisers, etc. in the *murders* of Russell, Sidney, and others; and as Halifax, who had been then in the ministry, saw that he was aimed at, he retired from office and joined the tories. A bill was brought in for restoring corporations, by a clause of which all who had acted or concurred in the surrender of charters were to be excluded from office for seven years. As there could be no doubt of the object of this clause, the tories put forth their whole strength, and having gained the court to their side, the clause was defeated in the commons and the bill itself was lost in the lords.

The refusal of the whigs to grant him a revenue for life had greatly alienated the mind of the king from them. He was in fact so disgusted with the ungenerous treatment, as he conceived it, that he met with, that he seriously meditated a return to Holland, leaving the queen to reign in England. From this he was diverted by the entreaties of Carmarthen and Shrewsbury; and the tories having promised him lavish supplies if he would dissolve the parliament, he resolved on that measure, and on conducting the Irish war in person. He therefore prorogued the parliament (Jan. 27, 1690), and a few days after (Feb. 6), he issued a proclamation dissolving it, and summoning a new one to meet on the 20th of March.

In the new house of commons the tories had the preponderance; but the whigs were notwithstanding very formidable. This appeared in the settlement of the revenue, as, though the hereditary excise was given to the king for life, the customs were granted only for four years. The great struggle of parties took place on a bill brought into the lords by the whigs for recognising their majesties as the *rightful and lawful* sovereigns of these realms, and declaring all the acts of the convention-parliament to be good and valid. This was obviously contrary to the principles and professions of the tories; they caused the words

rightful and lawful to be omitted as superfluous, and they would only consent that the laws of the late parliament should be valid for the time to come. The bill was committed, but the declaratory clause was lost on the report. A vigorous protest of some of the leading whigs caused it to be restored. The tories now protested in their turn, but the whigs caused the protest to be expunged from the journals. The bill passed the commons without opposition, as the influence of the crown was exerted in its favour. As the tories were thus instrumental in putting the last hand to the settlement of the crown, they had no excuse for ever again opposing it.

A bill requiring every person holding any office to *abjure* the late king and his title was rejected by the commons at the express desire of the king. An act was passed for investing the queen with the administration during the absence of the king, and one for reversing the judgement against the city of London, and finally the bill of indemnity, which contained the names of thirty excepted persons, none of whom however were ever molested in consequence of it. The session was then closed (May 21), and the king soon after set out for Ireland.

The situation of the queen was by no means an easy one. Her mind was distracted with anxiety for the fate of both her father and her husband in Ireland; the Jacobites, as the adherents of James were now called, were preparing an insurrection in England and Scotland, and the French were ready to assist them; she had to hold the balance between the two parties in her cabinet. Her difficulties, however, gave occasion to the display of the nobler parts of her character, and she acquired by her firmness, mildness, and prudence, the applause of all*.

As it was known that a fleet was getting ready at Brest, lord Torrington proceeded to St. Helens, and took the command of the combined English and Dutch fleets. On the 20th of June, the French fleet of seventy-eight ships

* See her letters to the king in Dalrymple.

of war appeared off Plymouth. Though Torrington had but fifty-six sail, orders were sent to him to fight. The hostile squadrons engaged (30th) off Beachey-head; the action lasted from nine till five in the afternoon, when a calm came on. As the Dutch had suffered severely, Torrington retired during the night; next day the French pursued them as far as Rye, and then retired. The loss of the English was two, that of the Dutch six ships. Torrington having brought his fleet into the Thames, repaired to London, where he was deprived of his command and committed to the Tower. He was afterwards tried by a court-martial and acquitted, but he was never again employed.

As an invasion was apprehended, the queen issued commissions for raising troops, directed a camp to be formed at Torbay, and caused several suspected persons to be arrested. But the French, after burning the fishing-village of Tingmouth, returned to Brest, and the news of the victory at the Boyne soon dispelled all alarm.

On the return of the king, the greatest harmony prevailed between him and his parliament. They granted four millions for the war, and William having put an end to the session, embarked at Gravesend (Jan. 16, 1691) in order to be present at a congress of the allies at the Hague. All there proceeded to his wishes, it being unanimously resolved to prosecute the war with vigour. He stayed a few weeks in Holland and then returned to England (Apr. 13).

A conspiracy in favour of James had been discovered before the king left England. About the end of December, a boat-owner of Barking in Essex, having informed lord Carmarthen that one of his boats had been engaged to convey some persons to France, it was boarded at Gravesend, and lord Preston, Mr. Ashton, a servant of the late queen, and a Mr. Elliot, were found in it. A parcel of papers of a suspicious nature was taken on the person of Ashton. Preston and Ashton were both tried and found guilty; the

latter was executed (Jan. 28); he died a protestant. Preston obtained a pardon by revealing all he knew. Lord Clarendon was committed to the Tower; bishop Turner, lord Preston's brother Graham, and Penn the quaker, being implicated, went out of the way.

It was now beyond doubt that there was a very extensive conspiracy organized for bringing back the late king. Untaught by the experience of his whole reign, and of his late doings in Ireland, men were so infatuated as to suppose that he could be content to reign the king of a protestant people. Preston and Ashton were to propose to him to make the majority of his council, even in France, protestant; to assure him that though he might live a catholic, he must reign as a protestant, giving all offices of state to those of this religion, and seeking nothing but liberty of conscience for his own. They were also to require that the French force, which they wished him to bring over, should be so moderate as to give no alarm for the liberties of the nation. A wilder project than this never was conceived, yet in a memorandum of lord Preston's were found the names of Shrewsbury, Monmouth, Devonshire, and other whig lords, as if they were participators in it. It is certain that Halifax, Godolphin, and Marlborough were at this time in communication with the jacobite agents, though the second was actually at the head of the treasury, and the last had lately done James all the injury he could in Ireland. But Marlborough did not find his ambition sufficiently gratified, and he thought it probable that James might be restored. He resolved in that case to secure his pardon, and therefore pretending the greatest remorse for his base ingratitude, he gave an exact account of the numbers and condition of the army and navy, and of the plans of king William as far as he knew them; he promised, if the king desired it, to bring over the troops that were in Flanders, but thought it better that he and the rest of the king's friends in parliament should strive to have the foreign troops sent away, in which case the English should

be brought back, and the king's restoration might then be easily effected.

William now resolved to keep measures no longer with the nonjuring prelates, for they had refused to perform their functions, even if excused from their oaths. He therefore proceeded to fill up the vacant sees. Tillotson (a name with which that of Sancroft will ill bear comparison) was selected for Canterbury. The names of Cumberland, Fowler, Patrick, Beveridge, and others, do equal honour to the discernment of the king and his advisers. As Sancroft and his brethren gave the most decisive proof of their sincerity, we must respect them as honest men ; but at the same time it is difficult not to feel contempt for those who were willing to sacrifice the civil (and consequently the religious) liberties of their country on the altar of their false god Passive Obedience. If too, as they maintained, this was the principle of Christianity, that perfect law of liberty, they should have submitted with the meekness of martyrs, and not have poured through the press, from the pens of themselves and their adherents, a continued stream of virulent pamphlets against their opponents.

On the 2nd of May king William, attended among others by the earl of Marlborough, sailed for Holland in order to take the field in person against the French. We deem it necessary here to remind our readers, that owing to our narrow limits, our plan has been to be as brief as possible on foreign affairs ; for England is henceforth so mixed up in the affairs of the continent, that to relate in detail those in which she is concerned, would be in reality to write the history of Europe. We will therefore aim at nothing more than to explain the origin and termination of the various general wars, and occasionally to notice more circumstantially the events, in which the English were immediate partakers.

The war was carried on simultaneously in Flanders, on the Rhine, in Savoy, and Piedmont, but no battle of any note signalised this campaign. At the end of it William

returned to England (Oct. 19), where the cheering intelligence of the complete reduction of Ireland awaited him.

Owing to the want of the needful supplies, Ginckel had not been able to take the field till the month of June. He then advanced to lay siege to Athlone, a strong town in the centre of the kingdom, on the river Shannon. Like many of the towns in Ireland, it consisted of two parts, an English and an Irish town; the latter was beyond the river, and at a distance of two miles from it the Irish army, commanded by the French general St Ruth, lay encamped.

When the English army approached (June 18), the Irish sent to oppose them retired into the town, and when the assault was given to the English town (20th), they fled after a brief resistance into the Irish town, breaking an arch of the bridge behind them. Two attempts to cover the broken arch with wooden work failed, and it was confidently expected that the English would be obliged to retire. It only remained to attempt to pass by a deep stony ford between the towns. Accordingly, a body of two thousand men led by Mackay, plunged into the river (30th); the batteries on both sides thundered; the troops boldly advanced under the fire, gained the shore, and mounted the breach which had been effected; the rest of the army pressed on over the bridge or by pontoons; the Irish fled to their camp, and within half an hour from the entrance of the troops into the river, the Irish town was won. The adjoining castle made no resistance.

On the 10th Ginckel marched from Athlone to engage the Irish army. He found them (12th) posted on Kilcommoden-hill, with a bog in their front in which there were only two passes; the one on their left, at the village and old castle of Aghrim, the other on their right; the slope of the hill down to the bog was intersected by hedges and ditches. Their force is said to have amounted to twenty-five thousand, that of the English only to eighteen thousand men.

It was noon when the English advanced to the attack.

The pass on the Irish right was first attempted, and at length gained. About five o'clock, an attack was made on the enemy's right wing, and when St. Ruth had drawn off part of his cavalry from the left to its support, the English cavalry under general Tollemache, pressed forward to gain the pass at Aghrim. At the same time a part of the infantry of the centre plunged into the bog in front, and floundering through, gained the opposite side. But instead of halting as directed for the cavalry to join them from the right, they began to ascend the hill. Horse and foot now charged them; they were driven back with loss. "Now," cried St. Ruth, "will I drive the English to the very walls of Dublin." But Tollemache pressed forward on one side, and Mackay at the other; St. Ruth came down the hill, and was advancing at the head of a body of horse against the former, when a cannon ball struck him. His death spread dismay through the army; the order of battle had not been communicated to Sarsefield, the second in command; and he was uncertain how to act. The English pressed on vigorously, and the Irish broke and fled. In the battle and pursuit seven thousand men were slain, and only four hundred and fifty taken; the loss of the victors did not exceed seven hundred killed and one thousand wounded.

Galway surrendered (20th) on honourable terms, and Ginckel now prepared to end the war by the reduction of Limerick, the last stronghold of the Irish. On his coming before the town (Aug. 25) the batteries were opened in the usual manner; but though breaches were effected, the strength of the garrison was too great to allow him to hazard an assault. The general saw that the town must be invested on all sides in order to ensure success. An English fleet was in the river, the town was closed in on the Limerick side, but it freely communicated with Clare by Thomond-bridge. A bridge of tin-boats was therefore secretly constructed, and a body of troops got over to the Clare side; but those not proving sufficient, Ginckel him-

self led over a larger body (Sept. 22), and after a furious conflict the works which covered Thomond-bridge were carried. Next day the garrison proposed a cessation, in order to adjust the terms of surrender. The terms which they required were extravagant; but Ginckel, who knew how much it was for his master's interest to have the war concluded, agreed to give very favourable ones. The Irish were to exercise their religion as in the time of Charles II.; all included in the capitulation were to enjoy their estates and follow their professions as in the same reign; their gentry were to have the use of arms, and no oaths were to be required but that of allegiance; all persons wishing to retire to the continent should be conveyed thither, with their families and effects, at the expense of the government. These articles were drawn up and signed (Oct. 3), and the war in Ireland, after having inflicted three years of calamity on the country, was at length terminated. Sarsfield and about twelve thousand men passed over to France, and were taken into the pay of the French monarch*.

A barbarous deed enacted in the Highlands of Scotland opens the occurrences of the following year (1692). An order had been issued for the Highlanders to submit and take the oath of allegiance before the 1st of January. The chiefs all obeyed; the last was M'Donald of Glenco, and the snows and other impediments prevented him from reaching Inverary, the county-town, till the day was past. The sheriff, however, administered the oath, and certified the cause of delay. But the earl of Breadalbane was M'Donald's bitter enemy, and the Dalrymples of Stair, the president and secretary, thirsted for blood. Both the oath and certificate were suppressed, and William was assured that Glenco was the great obstacle to the pacification of the Highlands. An order, countersigned by the king, was obtained "to extirpate that sect of thieves," and

* In chapter V. of the next Part the Irish affairs will be resumed.

Dalrymple forthwith wrote to the commander-in-chief ample directions how to perpetrate the massacre in the most barbarous manner.

A detachment from Fort-William, under Campbell of Glenlyon, to whose niece one of Glenco's sons was married, came to the Glen, where they were hospitably received and quartered among the inhabitants. In about a fortnight (Feb. 12), orders to fall on and massacre all the men of the clan in the night arrived. Glenlyon passed that evening at cards at his nephew's, and all were to dine at Glenco's the next day. But that night when the people of the vale were buried in sleep the massacre began. The young McDonalds, overhearing the discourse of the soldiers, suspected danger and made their escape, but they were unable to warn their father, and at break of day the old man was shot in his bed; his wife was stripped naked, and she died the next day of terror. Of the men of the glen, two hundred in number, thirty-eight were massacred; the remainder hearing the shots fled to the hills; for a storm providentially came on and hindered the march of the troops that were to have seized the passes to prevent their escape. The houses were all burnt to the ground, the cattle driven off or destroyed, the women and children stripped naked, and left to perish in the snow.

Of Scottish barbarity and ferocity we have seen abundant instances, and certainly the great offenders here were those two detestable men, Breadalbane and Dalrymple: but the king himself was not guiltless; he should have inquired more accurately before he signed such an order. Judging, however, by his general character, there can be little doubt that he was deceived, and that he thought he was only sanctioning a wholesome act of severity. Political necessity will perhaps account for, though not justify, his not punishing the authors of the massacre.

A great outcry at this deed was raised all over Europe by James and his adherents, which certainly came with a

good grace from the party which had to boast of Jeffreys's campaign, and the torturings and massacres of the Cameronians!

Early in the spring (Mar. 5) the king returned to Holland to prepare for the ensuing campaign. The exiled monarch meantime had made his arrangements for the invasion of England. The jacobites and catholics secretly enlisted men and formed regiments; the princess Anne had lately written to implore her father's forgiveness, which he regarded as a proof of the inclination of the church-party; Marlborough continued to give him assurances of his fidelity; and even Russell, out of pride and pique, became a traitor to the cause of the revolution. Louis gave James some troops, which, with the regiments from Ireland and the Scotch and English exiles, forming a force of from fifteen to twenty thousand men, were encamped at La Hogue, where a large fleet was assembled to convey them to England. At the same time James issued a declaration, offering pardon and indemnity to his subjects (with, however, a long list of exceptions), and promising to protect the church.

The queen, on intelligence of these preparations, caused Marlborough and other suspected persons to be arrested; a camp was formed near Portsmouth, and Russell, who commanded the fleet, was ordered to put to sea. As reports were very prevalent of disaffection in the navy, lord Nottingham, by the queen's direction, wrote to the admiral to say that she gave no credit to them; and a most loyal address from the officers was the result of the royal magnanimity. The queen took the further measure of having king James's declaration published, with an answer to it from the pen of bishop Lloyd.

Russell, when joined by the squadrons of admirals Delaval and Carter, and by the ships of Holland, found himself at the head of a fleet of ninety-nine ships of the line. The count de Tourville, who commanded the French fleet, had only sixty-three ships; but Louis had sent him

positive orders to fight, reckoning that the Dutch would not have joined so soon. The engagement commenced off Cape Barfleur (May 19), and lasted from ten o'clock till four, when a dense fog came on. About six it cleared off, and the French were seen towing away their ships; the English gave chase; Carter, with part of the blue squadron, came up with them; he engaged them for half an hour, till he received a mortal wound; and the French got off with the loss of four ships. The chase was kept up the two following days. On the morning of the 22nd, part of the French fleet being seen near the Race of Alderney, chase was again given, and Tourville's own ship, the *Soleil Royal*, of 120 guns, and two others, were driven ashore near Cherbourg, where they were burnt by Delaval; a part made their escape through the Race to St. Malo; eighteen ran aground at La Hogue; vice-admiral Rooke immediately manned his boats to attack them, and, despite of the cannon which thundered from all sides, the brave British tars succeeded in burning thirteen sail of the line and a number of transports. James, who from his camp beheld this frustration of all his hopes, could not, it is said, refrain from exclaiming repeatedly, "See my brave English!" He dismissed his troops for the present to their quarters, and returned himself to St. Germain. The correspondence was still kept up with Marlborough and Russell, who professed to be as zealous as ever in his service. The latter is in fact said to have gained his victory against his will*.

The principal events of the war in Flanders this campaign were, the taking of Namur by the French (June 5), and the battle of Steenkirk (July 24) between king William and marshal Luxemburg. The latter, deceived by one of his spies, suffered himself to be surprised; but the ill conduct of count Solms in not supporting the van of the allies, which was composed of English troops who

* See Dalrymple, and Hallam, iii. 171. With all this latter writer's partiality for the house of Russell, he terms the admiral "a most odious man, as ill-tempered and violent as he was perfidious."

showed their usual heroism, and the arrival of marshal Boufflers with a large body of French dragoons, caused the beam finally to turn against the allies. They retired, with the loss of three thousand slain (among whom were generals Mackay and Lanier) and an equal number wounded and taken. The loss of the French was not inferior.

Shortly after, a plot to assassinate king William was discovered : the agents in it were, the jacobite colonel Parker, Grandval a captain of French dragoons, and a M. Dumont. King James is said to have both known and approved of it. It was, however, fortunately discovered, and Grandval, who had been inveigled into the quarters of the allies, was executed by sentence of a court-martial.

Fortune was everywhere favourable to the French the following year (1693). They reduced the strong towns of Huy (July 23) and Charleroy (Oct. 11). In the battle of Neer-Winden, or Landen (July 29), the honour of the day remained with them, but their loss was equal to that of the allies. The loss of a part of the rich Smyrna fleet was, however, more severely felt in England than that of the battle of Landen. Louis had made incredible efforts to renew his navy, and when sir George Rooke was sent to the Straits to convoy the great Smyrna fleet of England and her allies, consisting of four hundred vessels, he fell in with a French fleet of eighty ships of the line off Cape St. Vincent. There was now no escaping. Two Dutch men of war were taken, and a Dutch and an English ship burnt; forty of the merchantmen were captured, and fifty sunk. The total loss was estimated at a million sterling.

In the commencement of this year one of the jacobite agents, a priest named Cary, went over to James with eight proposals from some of the English nobility, on his agreeing to which they would undertake to restore him. James sent them to Louis, and by his advice assented to them; and a declaration based on them having been drawn up by those lords, James published it (April 17). In this he promised pardon and indemnity to all who would not

oppose him ; engaged to protect and defend the church of England, and secure to its members all their churches, colleges, rights, immunities, etc. ; pledged himself not to dispense with the test, and to leave the dispensing power in other matters to be regulated by parliament ; to assent to bills for the frequent meeting of parliament, and the freedom of elections, etc., and to re-establish the Act of Settlement in Ireland. James owns that in this document he put a force on his nature, which he excuses by the necessity of the case. He consulted both English and French divines of his own communion about the promise to protect and defend the church ; the former thought he could not in conscience do it, the latter (including Bossuet) that he could ; but the king says that these last finally coincided with the others in thinking that he could only promise to maintain the protestants in their possessions, benefices, etc.

This declaration did no service whatever to the cause of James. Those who proposed it became doubtful of his sincerity when they saw him so readily agree to it ; the leading jacobites* were offended at it, saying, that if he came in on these terms it would be the ruin of himself and his loyal subjects ; they therefore sent him word "that, if he considered the preamble and the very terms of it, he was not bound to stand by it, or to put it out *verbatim* as it was worded," with more to that purpose. Marlborough wrote pretty much to the same effect ; and indeed James owns that he did not consider himself bound by it.

The machinations of the court of St. Germain were continued through the following year (1694). Russell, Marlborough, and Godolphin were as profuse as ever of their

* James (*Life*, ii. 514.) names the nonjuring bishops of Norwich (Lloyd), Bath (Ken), Ely (Turner), and Peterborough (White), the marquess of Worcester, and earl of Clarendon. "A decisive proof," observes Hallam, "how little that party cared for civil liberty, and how little would have satisfied them at the revolution if James had put the church out of danger."

The jacobites, we may here observe, were divided into Compounders, or those who would restore James with limitations ; and Non-compounders, or those who, like the above, would invest him with the plenitude of despotism.

professions of devotion, yet James observes that they performed nothing. He very properly judged that they regarded only their own interest; and he even seems to have suspected that Russell was only deluding him. It is much to be regretted that the name of lord Shrewsbury should be mixed up in these traitorous intrigues. It is a curious fact, but one for which there seems to be sufficient authority, that William made use of his knowledge of Shrewsbury's communications with the jacobite agents to oblige him to accept the post of secretary of state*. Shrewsbury was a man of honour, and William had no reason ever to regret his magnanimity.

On the 6th of May the king sailed for Holland. He had previously made several promotions in the peerage. The earls of Shrewsbury, Bedford, and Devonshire were created dukes of the same name; the marquess of Carmarthen duke of Leeds, and the earl of Clare duke of Newcastle; the earl of Mulgrave marquess of Normanby, and lord Sidney earl of Romney.

No action of importance took place in this campaign. The allies recovered Huy, and the advantage in general was on their side. William returned to England in the beginning of November. •

Early in the month of June a combined fleet of thirty sail, under lord Berkeley, with six thousand troops on board, commanded by general Tollemache, had sailed with the intention of destroying the fleet and harbour of Brest. The fleet, however, had already sailed for the Mediterranean, and they found all due preparations made to receive them. Their attempts to silence the guns of the castle and forts having proved unavailing, Tollemache made a desperate effort to land his troops. In this attempt he received a mortal wound, and seven hundred of his men were slain or taken; it was then found necessary to abandon the enterprise. Tollemache declared that "he felt no

* See M'Pherson's State Papers, i. 481.

regret at losing his life in the performance of his duty, but that it was a great grief to him to have been betrayed?" and betrayed he certainly was. On the 4th of May Marlborough had written to king James an account of the strength and destination of the expedition, and Godolphin, one of William's ministers, is said to have done the same; yet, ere the fleet sailed, Marlborough, through Shrewsbury, had offered his services to William, "with all the expressions of duty and fidelity imaginable*."

After the failure on Brest, Berkeley bombarded and nearly destroyed Dieppe and Havre, and damaged Calais and Dunkirk. Russell meantime rode triumphant in the Mediterranean; and his wintering by the king's express command, against his own will, with his fleet of sixty sail, at Cadiz, ensured the preponderance of England both in that sea and on the ocean.

Shortly after the return of the king, the excellent archbishop of Canterbury died (Nov. 22). Sancroft, his non-juring predecessor, had paid the debt of nature just a year before him. Both were emphatically good men, though differing in opinion. It is greatly to Sancroft's honour, that he never engaged in any of the intrigues against the government; but, giving allegiance for protection, he lived and died a peaceful subject. Dr. Tennison succeeded Tillotson in the primacy.

The death of the primate was followed by that of the queen, an event which plunged the nation into the deepest affliction. She was attacked by the small-pox (Dec. 21), and being improperly treated by Dr. Ratcliffe, she was carried off in about a week (28th), in the thirty-third year of her age. She bore her illness with the greatest piety and resignation, and died in the sincere profession of the protestant faith. Her character was every way amiable, and no one could have better sustained the difficult part

* This action of Marlborough's is not to be defended or even palliated. The attempt of his biographer to do so is a complete failure. See Dalrymple, iii. P. 3, p. 60, for the particulars.

she was called on to act in the drama of the world, where the most sacred duties came into collision*. By her husband she was loved with an intensity of which his nature was hardly thought to be capable, and his grief at her loss was so great as to cause apprehensions for his health. The obsequies of the queen were celebrated with great magnificence (Mar. 5), and her remains were deposited in Westminster-abbey†.

* Hallam beautifully applies to her Virgil's well-known line,
"Infelix utcunque ferent ea facta minores."

† A Jacobite divine had the brutality to preach at this time on the text, "Go now see this accursed woman and bury her, for she is a king's daughter."

CHAPTER II.

WILLIAM III.*

1694—1702.

Proceedings in parliament.—Assassination plot.—Attainder of Fenwick.—Peace of Ryswick.—Proceedings in parliament.—Act of Settlement.—Partition treaty.—Death of William III.;—his character.

THE princess Anne, a weak woman, entirely guided by lord and lady Marlborough, had been for some time on ill terms with the king and queen. When the latter was on her death-bed, the princess sent expressing her desire to see her; but the physicians objected, and the queen sent her her forgiveness. Lord Sunderland, who was now in favour with William, seized the occasion of his grief to effect a reconciliation between him and the princess; Anne therefore wrote to him; she was then received at court, and the king gave her St. James's for her residence, and presented her with the greater part of the late queen's jewels.

The most important bill passed this session was that for triennial parliaments, by which it was enacted that every parliament should determine within three years from the time of its meeting. The king had twice refused his assent to a similar bill, but he now (Nov. 1694) thought it expedient to yield.

Charges of bribery and corruption were made against various persons. Sir John Trevor, the speaker of the house of commons, was expelled for having received a bribe of one thousand guineas for his services in forwarding a bill

* Authorities same as before.

for the orphans of the city of London*. It having appeared that the East-India company had employed an unprecedented sum in secret-service money during the last year, their governor was called on to account for it, and it proved to have been spent, for the purpose of procuring the renewal of their charter, in bribes to influential persons. On the information which was elicited, the commons impeached the duke of Leeds; but an important witness having gone out of the way, and a prorogation having taken place, the matter fell to the ground. The stigma of course adhered to the duke's character, and his name does not appear in the regency which the king appointed when departing for the continent.

The great event of the campaign of 1695 was the taking of Namur by king William in person (Aug. 29), after a siege of seven weeks, in face of a French army of one hundred thousand men. The intelligence diffused joy all over England, and the king was received on his return (Oct. 11) as a glorious conqueror.

William's first act was to dissolve the parliament and summon a new one to meet on the 22nd of November. He then visited Newmarket, and made a progress through the midland counties in order to increase his popularity. In the new parliament the whig interest preponderated. A bill for regulating trials for treason, which had failed before, was now brought in by the tories, and it was passed unanimously. It enacted that the accused should have a copy of the indictment and of the panel of the jury, and the aid of counsel; that every overt act should be proved by two witnesses; that the prisoner should be enabled to compel his witnesses to appear, and be allowed to challenge peremptorily thirty-five of the jury, etc. As the silver coinage was in such a wretched state that a golden guinea was worth thirty shillings, a new coinage was resolved on, and was carried into effect by Mr. Montague.

* He was, by virtue of his office, obliged to put the question on the vote which declared his own disgrace.

the chancellor of the exchequer, aided by Sir Isaac Newton the master of the mint, and by Mr. John Locke*. A third measure caused much annoyance to the king. His Dutch favourite, Bentinck earl of Portland, who was somewhat rapacious, had begged and obtained three royal lordships in Denbighshire. The gentry of the county petitioned against the grant; the commons addressed the king to recall it, and William complied with their wishes; but he forthwith conferred on the favourite manors and honours in no less than five several counties†.

The discovery of a nefarious plot against the life of the king soon occupied the whole attention of parliament and the nation. One captain Fisher called on lord Portland (Feb. 11, 1696), and informed him of a plot for seizing the king and invading the kingdom; he afterwards (13th) gave the particulars of the conspiracy to sir William Turnbull the secretary. The attempt on the king, who was in the habit of going on Saturdays to hunt in Richmond-park, was to be made in the lane leading from Brentford to Turnham-green. He was therefore urged not to hunt on that day; but he laughed at the idea of the plot, and declared his resolution of taking his sport as usual. On Friday evening however (14th), an officer named Prendergast came to lord Portland, and advised him to persuade the king to stay at home the next day or else he would be assassinated. He gave the same details as Fisher had done; but both refused to name any of the parties. Prendergast said that he was an Irishman and a catholic, but, though his religion was accused of sanctioning such deeds, the thought of it had filled him with horror. Portland went to the king that very night; and William, now thinking there was something in the matter, put off his hunting for that week. Next day, a third witness, named De la Rue, gave exactly

* The old coin was called in and new coin of the same denomination given in its place. The difference, which amounted to 2,400,000*l.*, was raised by a house- and window-tax.

† At the same time it is to be recorded to Bentinck's honour that he was inaccessible to bribery, as was shown in the case of the East-India Company

similar information, and he and Prendergast being examined personally by the king, were prevailed on to name the conspirators. These had deferred their project to the following Saturday (22nd); when finding that the king did not go to Richmond, they suspected that the plot was discovered and thought of providing for their safety. That night, however, several of them were arrested in their beds, and next day a proclamation was issued offering a reward of 1000*l.* for each of the persons who had escaped.

On Monday (24th) the king went in person and informed both houses of the discovery of the plot. They made in return a most loyal and affectionate address, empowered him to suspend the *Habeas Corpus* act; and drew up a form of association, binding themselves to the support of his person and government against the late king James and his adherents, and in case he should come to a violent death to revenge it on his enemies, and to maintain the Act of Settlement. All the members of both houses signed this bond. As some of the tories scrupled at the words *rightful and lawful king*, a slight change was made to content them.

The plot seems to have been as follows. King James had sent sir George Barclay, a Scottish catholic officer of his guards, over to England with a commission authorising and commanding all his loving subjects to rise in arms and make war on the prince of Orange and his adherents. About two-and-twenty officers and men of James's guards came over to aid in the project, which was communicated to several of the king's friends in England. Various places were proposed for making the attempt, and the above-mentioned lane was finally fixed on. Meantime a French fleet and army were to be assembled at Dunkirk and Calais, of which James himself was to take the command. The principal persons charged with this conspiracy were the earl of Aylesbury, lord Montgomery, sirs George Barclay, John Fenwick, John Friend and William Perkins, major Lowick, captains Charnock, Knightley and Porter, with messieurs Rookwood, Cooke, Goodman, Cranbourne, and others. Of

these, Porter, Goodman and some others were admitted as witnesses; and on their evidence, with that of Fisher, Prendergast and De la Rue, Friend, Perkins, Charnock, Lowick, King, Cranbourne, and Rookwood, were found guilty and executed. Cooke and Knightley were also found guilty; but the former was banished, the latter pardoned.

At the execution of Friend and Perkins, the celebrated Jeremy Collier and two other nonjuring divines gave them absolution in sight of the people with a solemn imposition of hands. For this they were indicted, but not punished. The two archbishops and twelve of the bishops (all that were in town) published a declaration strongly censuring their conduct, as the dying persons had made no confession and expressed no abhorrence of the crime for which they suffered.

King James, who had come to Calais, after remaining there some weeks, returned disconsolate to St. Germain. He utterly denied all knowledge of the assassination plot; but there seems to be sufficient evidence of his having sanctioned this and other attempts on the life of king William*.

Sir John Fenwick was arrested at New Romney, on his way to France (June 11). He instantly wrote a letter in pencil to his lady, saying that nothing could save him but the endeavours of her nephew lord Carlisle and others with the king and his friends, or the bribing some of the jury to starve out the rest. This letter was intercepted, and on Fenwick's assertion of his innocence before the lords-justices it was produced to his utter dismay. When he heard that the grand jury had found the bill against him, he prayed for a delay, offering to tell all that he knew provided he got a pardon and was not required to appear as a witness. The king, when this proposal was transmitted to him in Flanders, refused to accede to it. Fenwick then threw himself on his mercy, and wrote him an account of the plots of the jacobites, in which he mentioned the secret

* See Hallam, III. 175, *note*.

dealings of lords Marlborough, Shrewsbury, Godolphin, Bath, and admiral Russell with the court of St. Germain; but the duke of Devonshire told him, "that the king was acquainted with most of those things before." An order therefore was issued to bring him to trial unless he made fuller discoveries. Fenwick then took to tampering with the witnesses Porter and Goodman; the former betrayed the intrigue to government, but the latter was induced to go to France. As he could not now be convicted by law, his enemies took another course. Admiral Russell, with the king's permission (Nov. 6.), laid before the house of commons the informations of Fenwick against himself and others, and desired that they might be read in order to give him an opportunity of justifying himself. Fenwick was brought to the bar and examined; but as he had had his information only at second-hand, he could not prove his assertions, and he thought it the wiser course not to repeat them. His papers therefore were voted to be false and scandalous, and it was resolved to bring in a bill to attain him. The bill was founded on Porter's evidence, supported by the production of Goodman's examination before the privy-council, and by the evidence of two of the grand-jury as to what he had sworn before them; proof was also given of his having been tampered with by lady Mary Fenwick. The bill was vigorously opposed in all its stages; but it finally passed the commons by a majority of thirty-three. In the lords the divisions were still closer, the majority being only seven. In the minority voted the dukes of Leeds and Devonshire, and lords Pembroke, Sunderland, Bath and Godolphin; the duke of Shrewsbury was absent; Marlborough voted in the majority, revenge proving stronger than his toryism. A vigorous protest, signed by forty-one peers, including eight prelates, was entered, in which it was justly said, that Fenwick was "so inconsiderable a man as to the endangering the peace of the government, that there needs no necessity of proceeding against him in this extraordinary manner." It is to be

regretted that one of the most strenuous supporters of the bill was bishop Burnet. Fenwick was beheaded on Tower-hill (Jan. 28, 1697).

In the course of the proceedings against Fenwick, a circumstance came to light which covered lord Monmouth with disgrace. Finding himself not named in Fenwick's discoveries, he wrote a paper of instructions for him to found his defence on, so as to implicate Godolphin and the others; and on Fenwick's not doing so, he came and spoke for two hours in favour of the attainer. Fenwick then on a re-examination told the whole story, and Monmouth was committed to the Tower and deprived of his employments. The king however did not wish to drive him to extremity; he sent bishop Burnet to soften him, and made up his losses secretly*.

This was the last attempt made by the partisans of James for his restoration. Men of prudence saw that it would be nothing but a return to the former despotism. The whigs no longer let their discontent get the better of their regard for liberty; and those among William's ministers who had kept up a treacherous correspondence with their former master, gradually withdrew from his hopeless cause. There is certainly reason to think that some of those who engaged in it were not sincere, and that their object was to learn and defeat the plots of the jacobites. Still the selfishness, the treachery, or at best the vacillation of so many of the principal public characters in the period succeeding the Revolution, form a picture, from which the virtuous mind will frequently turn with disgust.

Before the king left England this year, he raised to the peerage the celebrated John Somers, who had been for some time lord-keeper, and made him chancellor. Admiral

* Monmouth was afterwards the celebrated earl of Peterborough. Speaker Onslow says of him on this occasion, "I wonder any man of honour could keep him company after such an attempt. He was of the worst principles of any man of that, or perhaps of any age; yet from some glittering in his character he hath some admirers."

Russell was created earl of Orford, and lord Sunderland was now made lord chamberlain.

The war had languished of late, and in the course of this year it was terminated by the Peace of Ryswick (Sept. 20). Louis gave up all his late conquests except Strasburg, and he acknowledged William as king of England. James published manifestos in assertion of his rights; but they were unheeded. It appears that Louis had proposed to William to have the crown settled on the prince of Wales after his death, and that the latter, who had no great affection for the princess Anne, consented to it. But the princess had a sure ally in the bigotry of her father and his queen. The idea of their son being reared a protestant, as in such case he must be, filled them both with horror, and they rejected the proposal without hesitation.

The peace was on the whole an honourable one, considering that all the advantages of the war had been on the side of France; it was also absolutely necessary from the exhausted state of the English finances. But William knew that it was likely to be little more than a truce, and in his speech to the parliament (Dec. 2) he gave it as his opinion, "that for the present England cannot be safe without a land-force." The necessity however of reduction and economy was strongly felt, the war having caused a debt of seventeen millions, and a dread of standing armies as the instruments of despotism pervaded the minds of most people, not considering that in the mutiny-bill and the necessity of annual votes of supply, they had abundant security against those dangers. It was therefore voted that all the troops raised since 1680 should be disbanded, and it was finally resolved (18th) that ten thousand men should be the force for the ensuing year. To gild the pill for the monarch, and prove that they were not wanting in gratitude and affection to him, they voted (20th) that a sum of 700,000*l.* should be granted him *for life* for the support of the civil list. The king however neglected the former vote, and when he was next going to Holland, he

left sealed orders with the regency to keep up a force of sixteen thousand men.

During the king's absence (1698) a new parliament was elected. The members were mostly men of Revolution-principles, attached to the government, but not very courteous to the king. When on his return from the continent the parliament met, he hinted in the speech from the throne (Dec. 9) his opinion of the necessity of a large land-force. But the commons, irritated at his neglect of the vote of their predecessors on this point, forthwith resolved that it should not exceed seven thousand men, and these to be his majesty's natural-born subjects. As this last clause went to deprive him of his Dutch guards, to which he was so much attached, and of the brave regiments of French protestants, the insult coupled with ingratitude (as he deemed it) sank deep into his mind. He seriously resolved to abandon the government and retire to Holland, and he had actually written the speech which he intended to make on that occasion, when he was diverted from his purpose. He therefore gave his assent to the bill (Feb. 1, 1699). Ere however he dismissed his guards, he made a final appeal to the good feelings of the commons. He sent them (Mar. 18) a message in his own hand-writing, to say that all the necessary preparations were now made, and that he would send them away immediately, "unless, out of consideration to him, the house be disposed to find a way for continuing them longer in his service, which his majesty would take very kindly." But the commons were inexorable, and the guards departed*. We feel it impossible to approve of this conduct of the commons; though it was termed national feeling it showed more of party-

* "It was a moving sight," says the whig Oldmixon (p. 186), "to behold them marching from St. James's-park through London streets, taking a long farewell of the friends they left in England with kisses and tears in their eyes; many of them having English wives and children following them into a land strange to them, after their husbands and fathers had spent so many years in the service of that country out of which they were now driven." There was only one regiment of these guards, which makes the barbarity the greater.

spirit. They should have recollected, that had it not been for these troops, who won the battle of the Boyne, *they* would probably have no power over them or any other troops*.

In the following session (1700) the commons proceeded a step further in making the king feel their power. The lands of those who had fought on the side of James in Ireland, exceeding a million of acres, were forfeited, and, in a legal sense, were at the disposal of the crown; yet still in all equity they should be applied to the public service. But William, who was of a generous temper, and who never could divest himself of the idea that as king he was entitled to all the prerogative exercised by his predecessors, had granted away the far greater part of them, chiefly to his mistress, Mrs. Villiers, now countess of Orkney, to the insatiable Portland, to Ginckel earl of Athlone, to Sidney lord Romney, and to another Dutch favourite, Keppel, who had been page, then private secretary to the king, and who now had eclipsed Portland in his favour, and had been created earl of Albemarle. Still he had only exercised a lawful prerogative, and the commons were not justified in the act of resumption which they passed, and still less in *tacking*, as it was termed, its provisions to a money-bill in order to prevent the lords from altering them†.

* "The foreign troops," says Hallam, (iii. 191) "had claims which a grateful and generous people should not have forgotten; they were many of them the chivalry of protestantism, the Huguenot gentlemen, who had lost all but their swords in a cause which we deemed our own; they were the men who had terrified James from Whitehall, and brought about a deliverance, which, to speak plainly, we had neither sense nor courage to achieve for ourselves, or which at least we could never have achieved without enduring the convulsive throes of anarchy."

† "This most reprehensible device," observes the same writer (p. 193), "though not an unnatural consequence of their pretended right to an exclusive concern in money-bills, had been employed in a former instance in this reign (Feb. 1692). They were again successful on this occasion; the lords receded from their amendments and passed the bill at the king's desire, who perceived that the fury of the commons was tending to a terrible convulsion. But the

The king was tolerant in his own temper, and he was pledged to the emperor and his catholic allies to indulge his catholic subjects. But the commons now, on the resort of priests to England and their usual imprudence, brought in a terrific bill to check the growth of popery. By this act any one informing against a priest exercising his functions was to receive 100*l.* reward, and the priest to be imprisoned for life; every person professing the popish religion must, after attaining the age of eighteen, take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and subscribe the declaration against transubstantiation and the worship of saints, or become incapable of inheriting or purchasing lands, and during his life his next of kin being a protestant was to enjoy them. The lords and the king gave no opposition to the will of the commons; but the spirit of liberty and equity rendered the barbarous enactment of none effect, and no properties were lost by it.

The earl of Sunderland, foreseeing the coming storm, had already resigned his office of chamberlain, much against the wishes of the king. Lord Orford, fearing the commons, followed his example; the duke of Leeds was dismissed from his post of president of the council. But the tories had persuaded the favourites Albemarle, and Villiers, lord Jersey, that it would be for the king's advantage to employ them instead of the whigs. The king himself seems to have thought that course necessary, and in compliance with the wishes of the tories, he consented to take the great seal from lord Somers, the leader of the whig party. William wished him to resign it of his own accord, but this Somers declined doing, as it might appear to be the result of fear or guilt. The earl of Jersey was then sent (Apr. 7) to

precedent was infinitely dangerous to their legislative power. If the commons, after some more attempts of the same nature, desisted from so unjust an encroachment, it must be attributed to that which has been the great preservative of the equilibrium in our government,—the public voice of a reflecting people, averse to manifest innovation, and soon offended by the intemperance of factions."

demand it; he delivered it up, and it was committed to sir Nathan Wright. The duke of Shrewsbury immediately resigned.

When the king returned from the continent this year, he modeled the ministry to the content of the tories. Godolphin was set again over the treasury, lord Grey of Werk, now earl of Tankerville, was made privy seal, and Rochester lord-lieutenant of Ireland; and to diminish the power of the whigs in the commons, their leader in that house, Charles Montague, was raised to the peerage under the title of baron of Halifax*. The ministers having advised a dissolution, a new parliament was summoned, and when it met (Feb. 10, 1701), Mr. Robert Harley, a man who, though of a presbyterian family and connexions, had constantly acted with the tories, was chosen speaker.

The two great measures which were now to occupy the attention of the parliament were the succession and the partition-treaty.

Of all the children which the princess Anne had borne, only one had survived. This was William duke of Gloucester, born in 1689. When this young prince had attained his ninth year, the king assigned him a peculiar establishment, and appointed the earl of Marlborough to be his governor, and bishop Burnet his preceptor. But the prince having over-exerted himself on his birth-day (July 24, 1700), took a fever of which he died. The next heir to the crown was the duchess of Savoy, daughter of Henrietta, youngest child of Charles I., but her religion excluding her, the nearest protestant to the throne was Sophia, dowager-electress of Hanover, daughter of the queen of Bohemia, the sister of that monarch. In the speech from the throne, the subject was pressed on the attention of parliament, and no time was lost in preparing a bill for the purpose.

The Act of Settlement which was now passed, limited the succession of the crown to the princess Sophia, and

* Saville, marquess of Halifax, had died without heirs.

the heirs of her body being protestants. It further provided, that no foreigner should hold any place of trust, civil or military, or take any grant from the crown; that the nation should not be obliged to engage in war for the defence of any dominions not belonging to the crown of England; that the sovereign should join in communion with the church of England, and not go out of the country without the consent of parliament; that no pardon should be pleadable to an impeachment; that no person holding an office or pension under the crown should be capable of sitting in the house of commons; that judges' commissions should be made *quamdiu se bene gesserint*, and their salaries be ascertained; that all business properly belonging to the privy-council should be transacted there, and all the resolutions be signed by the councillors present, etc.

The regard for liberty shown in this important bill certainly does honour to the Tories. Some of the articles seemed no doubt to reflect on the king, but recent experience had shown their necessity, and future experience proved their utility. There was, however, one fatal omission in the bill; the foreign prince coming to the throne should have been required to surrender his former dominions.

The affair of the treaty of partition was much more intricate. Charles II. of Spain was childless; the emperor, the elector of Bavaria, and the king of France had all married daughters of Spain. Louis's queen, it is true, had at her marriage solemnly renounced her right of succession, but the ambition of Louis, it was well known, would not be held in by so slender a cord; and if he could add the Spanish dominions to his own, his power, it was feared, would be irresistible. In 1698, William having seen, from the temper of parliament, how little chance there was of prevailing on the English nation to engage in a war, resolved if he could not avert the evil entirely to diminish it as much as possible. Louis too was, or pretended to be,

satisfied to be secured in a part rather than have to fight for the whole. Accordingly, when William returned to Holland that year, a secret treaty was concluded between the kings of England and France, and the states of Holland, for partitioning the Spanish dominions, by which the dauphin was to have Naples and all the other Italian dominions of the crown of Spain, except the duchy of Milan, which was to go to the emperor's second son, Charles. The dauphin was also to have the province of Guipuscoa, in the north of Spain; but the crown of Spain, with all its other dominions, was to go to the electoral prince of Bavaria. The death of this young prince having frustrated this arrangement, a new one was concluded (Mar. 15, 1700). By this the archduke Charles was to have Spain, the Indies, and the Netherlands, while the dauphin should have Guipuscoa and all the Italian dominions, but Milan was to be exchanged for Lorraine. The object proposed by William and the States was, to preserve the balance of power as much as possible; but it was certainly a bold step thus to parcel out the Spanish monarchy without the consent of the crown or people of Spain. Accordingly, the pride of the Spanish nation was roused, and through the arts of the French ambassador and his party, the king, when on his death-bed (Nov. 1), was induced to make a will leaving all his dominions to Philip the second son of the dauphin. Louis, after an affected hesitation, allowed his grandson to accept the splendid bequest. He then used all his arts to obtain the acquiescence of the king of England and the States, but finding them unavailing, he had recourse to stronger measures. By what was called the Barrier-treaty, Namur, Antwerp, and some other places in the Netherlands, were garrisoned by Dutch troops; and by a secret and rapid march, the French in one night surprised and captured all these garrisons, which amounted to twelve thousand men. The States, to free their soldiers, and urged by the clamour of a large faction at home, and the terror of the French arms now at their doors, acknow-

ledged Philip, and king William found it necessary to follow their example (Apr. 17, 1701).

It is asserted that Louis scattered his gold with no sparing hand among the members of the English parliament, in order to avert the danger of a war. Be this as it may, his game was played effectually in that assembly. The peers (Mar. 21) presented an address condemnatory of "that fatal treaty" of partition, and the commons, after a furious debate, in which Mr. Howe, a zealous jacobite, termed it a "*felonious* treaty," made a still stronger address, and then proceeded to impeach the earls of Portland and Orford, and the lords Somers and Halifax, for their share in it. Disputes, however, arising between the two houses, the commons refused to go on with the impeachments, under the pretext that they could not expect justice, and the lords then acquitted the accused peers.

The war-spirit, however, was on the increase in the country, and the king on his return to the continent was party (Sept. 7) to a second Grand Alliance with the emperor and the States for procuring the Netherlands and the Italian dominions of the crown of Spain for the emperor, and for preventing the union of France and Spain under the one government. Just at this time, an event occurred which roused the indignation of the whole English nation against Louis. King James died (16th), and Louis, who had promised the dying monarch to recognise his son as king of England, performed that promise under the influence of the celebrated Madame de Maintenon, in opposition to his wisest ministers. William immediately ordered his ambassador to quit the court of France without taking leave, and the French secretary of legation was required to depart from England. The city of London made an address, expressive of their indignation at the conduct of the court of France, and their resolution to stand by the king in the defence of his person and just rights; and similar addresses soon poured in from all parts of the kingdom.

The current had evidently set in against the timid anti-national policy of the tories, and the sagacious Sunderland when consulted by the king strongly advised him to discard his tory ministers and bring in the whigs. William wrote to lord Somers, their acknowledged leader, for his advice, and that statesman urged him to dissolve the parliament, and to rely on the present temper of the nation. Accordingly, the king soon after his return acted in conformity with that counsel.

When the new parliament met (Dec. 30), the tories proved stronger in it than had been anticipated, but many of them were of that moderate party which was headed by Harley, whose election to the office of speaker was carried by a majority of either four or fourteen. The speech from the throne, the composition of Somers, was a most able piece, showing the danger of England and of Europe, and calling on the parliament to act with vigour and unanimity. The two houses responded to the royal call; they voted ninety thousand men for the land and sea-service; a bill was passed for attainting the pretended prince of Wales, and another obliging all persons employed in church and state to *abjure* him, and swear to William as rightful and lawful king, and his heirs, according to the Act of Settlement.

The nation had not been so united or the king so popular at any time since the Revolution; but William was not fated to enjoy the happy results. He felt his constitution to be so greatly broken, that he had told lord Portland this winter, in confidence, that he could not expect to live another summer. Toward the end of February (1702), as he was riding through Bushy-park, on his way to Hampton-court, he put his horse to the gallop on the level sod: but the animal stumbled and fell, and the king's collar-bone was broken*. It was set immediately, and he was brought

* It was maliciously remarked that the horse he rode had formerly belonged to sir John Fenwick. As his fall was ascribed to a mole-hill, the jacobites in their political computations used to drink to the health of the little gentleman in black velvet.

back to Kensington. For some days he seemed in no danger whatever; but one day (Mar. 3), after walking for some time in the gallery, he sat down on a couch and fell asleep. He awoke with a shivering-fit. A fever ensued; he grew worse daily; on Sunday (7th) he received the sacrament from archbishop Tennyson, and at eight o'clock next morning he breathed his last, in the fifty-second year of his age. A black ribbon with a ring, containing some of his late queen's hair, was found tied round his left arm, a proof of his sincere affection for that estimable woman.

William was slender in person and delicate in constitution. His countenance was grave and manly, his nose aquiline, his eye bright, his forehead large. He had a strong sense of religion, and was generally correct in his conduct. His manner was dry and unpleasant, and those who had been used to the affability of Charles found his court intolerable; and his retiring to Holland every summer, and usual residence at Hampton-court for the sake of privacy and hunting, tended very much to alienate the minds of the public. He was also charged with want of humanity, and with an indifference as to what might become of the world when he should be out of it. King William was an able though not a successful general; the great object of his life was the abasement of the power of France; it was only with a view to this that he sought the throne of England; and he is the last monarch of superior talents who has occupied that throne. He had the high glory of having saved first his own country and then England from civil and religious despotism; and had Providence added a few years to his life, he might have had the satisfaction of completely humbling the power of Louis XIV., and have saved England from the disgrace of the treaty which concluded the war.

CHAPTER III.

ANNE.*

1702—1714.

Queen's accession.—Expedition to Cadiz.—Admiral Benbow.—War of the Succession.—Battle of Blenheim.—War in Spain.—Battle of Ramillies;—of Almanza;—of Oudenarde;—of Malplaquet.—Campaign in Spain.—Union with Scotland.—Struggles of parties.—Trial of Sacheverell.—Triumph of the tories.—Harley stabbed by Guiscard.—Negotiations for peace.—Charges against Marlborough.—Peace of Utrecht.—Oxford and Bolingbroke.—Death of the queen.—State of the constitution.

THE successor to the throne was in the thirty-eighth year of her age. She had always been remarkably firm in her attachment to the protestant religion, and her inclination was strong to the tory party. This, however, was much controlled by the great influence exercised over her mind by lady Marlborough, who was a whig†, which led to a hope that the high-tory party would not be dominant during her reign. When waited on by the privy-council the day of William's death, she spoke with great respect of that monarch, and announced her intention of treading in his steps. She renewed this declaration in her speech to the parliament, and her resolution was communicated without loss of time to the States-general, who had been overwhelmed with affliction at the news of the king's demise.

King William, with that noble spirit of patriotism, and of regard for the interests of Europe in general, which distinguished him, though aware of the treachery of Marl-

* Authorities same as before, and Coxe's *Life of Marlborough*.

† In her familiar intercourse with lord and lady Marlborough, the queen called herself and was called by them Mrs. Morley, and they were Mr. and Mrs. Freeman.

borough to himself, had destined him to the command of the English troops in the approaching war, for of his military and diplomatic talents he had the highest opinion. For this reason he had confided to him the task of negotiating the Grand Alliance, and Marlborough's conduct of it had fully justified his anticipations. The queen now declared that nobleman captain-general of the land-forces in England, and appointed him her ambassador at the Hague, whither he repaired without delay (28th) to assure the States of the intentions of his royal mistress, and to arrange the plan of the ensuing campaign.

The commons settled on the queen for life the revenue of 700,000*l.* a-year enjoyed by the late king, 100,000*l.* of which she assured them she would annually devote to the national service. The oath of abjuration was taken by all persons without any difficulty.

In forming her ministry queen Anne gave the preference to the tories. Lords Halifax and Somers were dismissed; the duke of Leeds was sworn of the privy-council; Godolphin was made treasurer, Nottingham and sir Charles Hedges secretaries, Normanby privy-seal, and sir Nathan Wright chancellor; while of the whigs the duke of Somerset was president of the council, and the duke of Devonshire lord steward. Anne made her husband, prince George, generalissimo of all her forces by sea and land, and sir George Rooke vice-admiral of England. Seymour, Howe, Harcourt, and other tories also obtained employments.

On the very same day (May 15), as had been previously arranged, war was declared against France at London, Vienna, and the Hague. In the beginning of July Marlborough took the command of the allied army in Flanders. He forthwith crossed the Meuse and advanced to Hamont. The caution of the Dutch field-deputies restraining him from action, no battle was fought in Flanders this campaign; but by the capture of Venloo and other places on the Meuse, and finally of Liege, the navigation of that

river was completely opened. With this last acquisition the campaign closed.

It had been the plan of king William to send an expedition against Cadiz. The queen's ministry, in pursuance of that design, fitted out a fleet of thirty ships of the line, which, joined with twenty Dutch men-of-war, with frigates and transports, and carrying a body of fourteen thousand men, was destined for that service. The supreme command was given to the duke of Ormond; sir George Rooke commanded the fleet under him. On the 23rd of August the expedition arrived off Cadiz; but, instead of landing at once, three days were spent in debates and discussions about the place of landing and other matters which should have been arranged long before. By this delay time was given to the marquess Villadarias, the captain-general of Andalusia, to store the city with provisions and to place a boom across the mouth of the harbour. The English commanders resolved to reduce the forts on the mainland, instead of debarking in the isle of Leon; they therefore landed in the Bay of Bulls, and advanced to Rota, which was given up by the governor; they thence moved to Port St. Mary's, a wealthy town; they found it deserted, and they fell at once to the work of plunder and destruction, not even sparing the churches. By this conduct they completely alienated the minds of the Andalusians from themselves and their cause; and seeing but slender hopes of any final success, they resolved to abandon the enterprise. They departed (Sept. 30), as Stanhope, one of those in command, expressed it, "with a great deal of plunder and of infamy." The naval and military commanders charged each other with the blame of the failure.

Fortune, however, seemed resolved to save them from the popular indignation at home. They learned on the coast of Portugal that the great Cadiz plate-fleet had put into Vigo-bay, in Galicia, and they resolved to attempt its capture. On reaching that bay (Oct. 22) they found the entrance defended by a boom and two ruinous old towers;

while the convoying ships of war, of which ten were French, lay moored along the shore, and the peasantry were all in arms. Ormond landed with two thousand men, and reduced the towers; the English ships broke the boom; but while the ships of war gave them occupation, the galleons ran further up the gulf to try to save their cargoes; the English, however, soon overtook them. The crews then began to fling the cargoes into the sea, and to burn the galleons, but six of them and seven ships of war were captured. The total loss of the Spaniards exceeded eight millions of dollars, of which the captors did not get more than one half.

Admiral Benbow, a brave and able seaman, but rude and rough in his manners, was at this time in the West Indies with a squadron of ten ships. He fell in (Aug. 19) with a French squadron of equal force, under M. de Casse. A running fight was maintained for several days; but Benbow found that the greater part of his captains neglected his orders, and would not come into action. His right leg being broken by a chain-shot (24th), and his captains still continuing refractory, he gave up the chase and bore for Jamaica, where he ordered a court-martial to be held on six of them; and two, Kirby and Wade, were sentenced to be shot, which sentence was executed at Plymouth, when they were sent home. Benbow died of his wounds at Kingston.

During the summer the parliament was dissolved, and a new one summoned. When it met (Oct. 20) it proved tory and high-church*. In its address to the queen it reflected on the memory of the late king, saying, for example, that Marlborough had *retrieved* the ancient glory and honour of the English nation. It was proposed to substitute the word *maintained* for that invidious term, but the proposal was rejected by a large majority. They also talked

* The distinction between *high-* and *low-churchmen* had lately come up. The former were so denominated from their claims to high sacerdotal power both in church and state, the latter from the opposite character.

of the church being *restored* to its due rights and privileges. As the dissenters all belonged to the whig party, the commons now opened a battery on them, which long continued in operation. This was the bill for preventing occasional conformity; for many of the dissenters, viewing the different sects of protestants as merely different forms of the common Christianity, made no scruple to conform to the church of England, by taking the test and receiving the sacrament in it, as a qualification for office, but still adhered to their own sect. The pride of the church-party had also been wounded by the imprudent vanity and insolence of sir Humphrey Edwin, the lord mayor of London in 1697, who went to the meeting-house of Pinners'-hall with all the insignia of his civic dignity. The bill now brought in enacted penalties against persons in office who should frequent dissenters' meeting-houses. It passed the commons by a large majority, but the lords made sundry amendments in it, which the commons would not admit, and it thus was lost for this session.

At the desire of the queen, an annual income of 100,000*l.* was voted to her consort in case of his surviving her. The earl of Marlborough having been created a duke for his services in the late campaign, the queen informed the house of commons that she had granted him 5000*l.* a year out of the post-office revenue for his life, and that she wished an act to be passed for continuing it to his heirs; but the commons were indignant at the proposal, asserting, with truth, that he had been abundantly remunerated for his services; and the duke prudently requested the queen to recall her message*.

We will now briefly narrate in continuity the events of the War of the Succession, by land and sea, in which the troops and fleets of the queen of England were engaged. Our narrative shall extend over a space of eight years.

* Evelyn observes on this occasion (ii. 78), that Marlborough "had, beside his own considerable estate, 30,000*l.* a-year in places and employments, with 50,000*l.* at interest."

The campaign of 1703 was opened by the capture of the city of Bonn, in the electorate of Cologne: the towns of Huy, Limburg, and Guelder were also reduced; but the energy of Marlborough was so cramped by the caution and dilatoriness of the Dutch, that he could venture on no action of importance. In this year the king of Portugal and the duke of Savoy joined the confederacy, and the archduke Charles assumed the title of king of Spain. He came to England in the close of the year, and, having partaken of the Christmas festivities of the court, was conveyed by sir George Rooke, with a powerful squadron, to Lisbon.

The year 1704 opened with gloomy prospects for the confederates. The emperor, pressed by the Hungarians, who were in rebellion, on one side, and by the Bavarians and French on the other, and totally unprovided with troops, was expecting every day to be besieged in his capital. Marlborough, who saw that, if the emperor was forced to yield, the confederation was at an end, resolved to make a bold effort to relieve him. He secretly arranged his plans with prince Eugene of Savoy, the imperial general, and then, pretending to his own government and the States that his object merely was to act on the Moselle, he induced the latter to be content with the protection of their own troops, and allow him to open the campaign where he proposed. It is not in our power here to display the masterly arrangements and proceedings of this consummate warrior. Being joined by an imperial army under the prince of Baden, he forced the lines of the Bavarians at Schellenburg, on the Danube (July 2), with great slaughter; and, having occupied the town of Donawerth, he transported his army over the river. The elector retired under the walls of Augsburg; and the country was wasted far and wide. Being joined, however, by a French army from the Rhine, under marshal Tallard, the elector recrossed the Danube, in order to attack prince Eugene, who had arrived with eighteen thousand men at Donawerth.

Marlborough, therefore, joined the prince without delay. The allies were advancing up the river to take a position at Hochstadt, when they discovered that the enemy was marking out a camp between Lutzingen and Blenheim. The allied generals resolved to attack him at once; and next morning (Aug. 13) at two o'clock they put their troops in motion. At seven the enemy, who had not been aware of their approach, descried the heads of their columns, and began to prepare to engage them. The Gallo-Bavarian army amounted to about fifty-six thousand men; that of the allies to about fifty-two thousand.

At one o'clock the battle began, with an attack on Blenheim by the English under lord Cutts, and a simultaneous attack on the enemy's left by the troops under the prince of Anhalt. The contest was desperate, especially on the right; but ere night the allies had won a most splendid victory. The loss of the French, in killed, drowned, taken, and deserters, was forty thousand men; among the prisoners was marshal Tallard and twelve hundred of his officers. The allies had four thousand five hundred killed and seven thousand five hundred wounded. The victory would have been still more complete but for the misconduct of the imperial troops, which enabled the elector to retire in good order, and with little loss.

Ulm and several other places were reduced; the allied army recrossed the Rhine; and the campaign was terminated with the sieges of Landau, Treves, and Traerbach. In December the duke returned to England; he received the thanks of the queen and the two houses; the royal manor and honour of Woodstock was conferred on him and his heirs, and the queen gave orders for a splendid mansion, to be named Blenheim-castle, to be erected on it at the cost of the crown.

Sir George Rooke had sailed from Lisbon, carrying a corps of five thousand troops, under the prince of Hesse Darmstadt, for an attempt on Barcelona; but their strength not proving sufficient, they abandoned the enterprise. On

their way back they attacked and captured the strong fortress of Gibraltar, of which Rooke took possession in the name of the queen of England. He then fought an indecisive action with a French fleet off Malaga.

The campaign of 1705 in Flanders produced no great battle, owing to the opposition of the Dutch field-deputies. Its most important event was the forcing of the French lines, extending from Namur to Antwerp, defended by seventy thousand men, and strong by nature as well as art. This exploit was performed in a masterly manner, and without any loss. Marlborough came up with the French army on the banks of the river Dyle, but, when he would attack it, the Dutch deputies interposed and prevented him. Toward winter he visited the new emperor, Joseph, at Vienna, by whom he was created a prince of the empire, and the principality of Mindelsheim was conferred on him. He there arranged the terms of a new alliance between the emperor and the maritime powers.

On the 3rd of June lord Peterborough sailed from Portsmouth with a land-force of about five thousand men. His instructions were, to aid the duke of Savoy, or to attack one of the Spanish ports, and make a vigorous push in Spain. At Lisbon he was joined by the archduke Charles, and at Gibraltar by the prince of Darmstadt. They touched at Altea, in Valencia, where they found the people zealous in their favour. Peterborough then formed the daring project of making a dash for Madrid, which was only fifty leagues distant, but the archduke and Darmstadt insisted on proceeding to Barcelona. The want of money was another obstacle, and Peterborough gave way. When they came to Barcelona (Aug. 16) they found the fortifications of that town strong and in good repair, and the garrison as numerous as their own force. Peterborough and most of the officers were against making any attempt, but the archduke and Darmstadt were as obstinate as ever. To gratify them, the troops were landed, and lay for three

weeks in inactivity before the town. Dissension prevailed among the commanders, and there seemed no course but to re-embark the troops, when Peterborough (Sept. 13), by a fortunate and well-conducted piece of temerity, made himself master of the strong fort of Montjuich, which commands the city. Numbers of the Miquelets, or armed peasantry, now flocked to the standard of Charles, and the siege was carried on with vigour. At length a breach was effected; but ere the assault was given, the soldiers of the garrison forced the brave old viceroy, Velasco, to propose terms. An honourable treaty was concluded (Oct. 9); but several of the Miquelets had stolen into the town, and they and the discontented townsmen appeared in arms early next morning, with the resolution of massacring the viceroy and his friends. Peterborough, on hearing the tumult, rode to one of the gates of the city and demanded admittance. The gate was opened to him, and his first act was to save a noble lady from the pursuit of the Miquelets. He suppressed the riot, enabled the viceroy to escape to Alicant, and then withdrew from the town till the term of the treaty should have expired. The viceroy, however, had left orders for an immediate surrender. All Catalonia now rose in favour of Charles, and its example was followed by Valencia.

Wearied by the opposition of the Dutch generals and field-deputies, and disgusted with the slowness and indecision of the Imperialists, Marlborough planned for the campaign of 1706 the leading an army in person into Italy to co-operate with prince Eugene of Savoy, while a British army should land on the coast of Saintonge to endeavour to raise the Huguenots of the south of France. But the French having been successful on the Upper Rhine the States became alarmed, and they implored Marlborough to retain the command in the Netherlands, offering to free him from the control of the deputies. He complied with their wishes and prepared to open the campaign by the siege of Namur. The French court sent positive orders to

marshal Villeroy to risk a battle in defence of that town. He therefore advanced to the village of Ramillies beyond Tirlemont, where, on Whitsunday (May 23), he was attacked by the allied army of sixty thousand men, his own force being about sixty-two thousand. The action commenced after one o'clock and lasted till the evening; the French sustained a total defeat, losing thirteen thousand men in killed, wounded, and taken, beside two thousand who afterwards deserted, eighty stand of colours, and nearly all their artillery and baggage; the loss of the allies was one thousand killed and two thousand five hundred wounded. The immediate consequence of this glorious victory was the submission of the states of Brabant to king Charles, and the surrender of Brussels, Ghent, Oudenarde, Antwerp, and the other towns of that province. Dendermond, Ostend, and Aeth stood each a siege, and the campaign closed with the capture of this last.

In Spain this year Barcelona was invested by land and sea by the French and Spaniards under Philip in person, while its small garrison of not more than two thousand men was animated by the presence of Charles. The enthusiasm almost peculiar to the Spaniards was manifested in the defence; monks and women appeared in arms, and Peterborough advancing from Valencia carried on a guerilla-warfare (for which no man was better adapted) in the enemy's rear. The city however would have been reduced but for the arrival of an English fleet with troops, at the sight of which the blockading squadron retired to Toulon, and the garrison being now reinforced, the besieging army marched off with all speed to Roussillon. In the mean time the Anglo-Portuguese army under the earl of Galway* and the marquess Das Minas had entered Spain, and, on hearing of the relief of Barcelona, they advanced and occupied Madrid. But instead of pressing at once on Philip, who was at Burgos, they loitered for a month in the capital.

* This was Ruvigni, a French protestant. He had received his title and fortune from king William for his services in Ireland.

Charles in like manner stayed at Barcelona, and then went to Zaragoza instead of Madrid. The national antipathy between Castilians and Aragonese revived; the former showed themselves enthusiastic for Philip; and Galway and Das Minas, unable to get back into Portugal, had to retire into Valencia, pursued by the duke of Berwick. Philip then returned to Madrid.

After the misfortunes of the last campaign Louis had made proposals for a treaty, first to the states alone and then to them and Marlborough, offering to cede to Charles either Spain and the Indies or the Italian dominions, with a barrier to the Dutch and compensation to the duke of Savoy. His offers, however, were rejected, and Marlborough again took the field (1707). But the campaign proved utterly inactive, as the duke of Vendôme, the French general, would give no opportunity for fighting. In Spain the allied forces under Galway and Das Minas (contrary to the opinion of Peterborough, who advised a defensive system) advanced into the kingdom of Murcia to engage the duke of Berwick. They found him (Apr. 25) encamped on the *Vega* or plain of Almanza; his army, which had been reinforced from France, amounted to about twenty-five thousand men, while that of the allies did not exceed seventeen thousand. His superiority in cavalry was very great; his troops were fresh, while theirs were fatigued with a morning's march. The battle commenced at three in the afternoon; the contest was for some time most obstinate; but Galway and Das Minas both being wounded and obliged to leave the field, the allies were finally routed. They left four thousand men dead on the spot; nearly all the remaining infantry were obliged to surrender; the generals fled to Catalonia with about three thousand five hundred cavalry. Valencia and Aragon were speedily reduced to the obedience of Philip, and the campaign closed with the siege and capture of Lerida.

In the month of July the duke of Savoy and prince Eugene had entered Provence with an army of thirty thousand

men and laid siege to Toulon, while a British fleet under sir Cloudesley Shovel attacked it from the sea. The defence of the garrison, however, was gallant; and as a large army was said to be hastening to its relief, the duke raised the siege and retired. As admiral Shovel was returning to England his fleet ran on the rocks westward of Scilly. His own ship, the *Association*, foundered, and himself and all his crew perished; the same was the fate of the *Eagle* and the *Romney*.

In the spring of 1708, Louis, encouraged by intelligence of the discontent which prevailed in England and still more in Scotland, fitted out a fleet at Dunkirk, in which the son of James II., now called the Chevalier de St. George, and in England the Pretender, embarked and sailed for Scotland. But sir George Byng was at the Firth of Forth with an English squadron, and they found it impossible to effect a landing. After being beaten about by storms for a month, they got back in a shattered condition to Dunkirk.

The French army in the Netherlands was commanded by the king's grandson, the duke of Burgundy, aided by the duke of Vendôme. They surprised Ghent and Bruges and laid siege to Oudenarde. At the approach of Marlborough to its relief they retired; but he brought them to action at no great distance from that town (July 11). The battle did not commence till evening, and the coming on of night saved the French from a rout which might have ended the war. They lost three thousand men killed and seven thousand taken; the loss of the allies was about two thousand men. After this victory Marlborough invested (Aug. 13) Lisle, the capital of French Flanders, a city of remarkable strength and largely garrisoned. Every possible effort for its relief was made by the French generals; but at length the town (Oct. 25), and finally the citadel (Dec. 10), was forced to surrender. Ghent was then besieged and recovered, and the campaign, regarded as one of the ablest during the war, terminated. The taking of

the islands of Sardinia and Minorca gave some lustre to the cause of the allies in the south.

The losses which France had sustained now (1709) made Louis sincerely anxious for peace, and he was willing to surrender all the Spanish dominions except Naples, to give the Dutch a sufficient barrier, etc. The allies, however, insisted on the cession of the Spanish dominions without exception, and even on Louis's aiding to drive his grandson out of Spain. These terms he rejected as an insult; he addressed a manifesto to his subjects; and, exhausted as they were by famine and taxation, the eminent loyalty of the people enabled him to renew the war with augmented vigour.

The fortune of war was, however, still adverse to France. The first act of the renewed drama was the investment of Tournay by the allies and its surrender after a gallant defence (Sept. 3). Prince Eugene and Marlborough then prepared to invest Mons: marshal Villars hastened to its relief; he posted his army between two woods near Malplaquet, and fortified his camp with redoubts and entrenchments. Here, however, he was attacked (Sept. 11) by the allies. The armies were nearly equal in number, each being about ninety thousand men: the action was the most desperately contested during the war; the honour of the day remained to the allies with a list of twenty thousand killed and wounded, while the French retired with the loss of fourteen thousand. The siege and capture of Mons terminated the campaign. In Spain fortune was adverse to the allies; they lost the town of Alicant, and they were defeated on the plain of Gudifia.

Negotiations for peace were resumed in 1710, and a congress sat at the little town of Gertruydenburg. Louis seemed to be most moderate; but his sincerity was doubted and the conference was broken off. The taking of Douay and some other towns alone signalled the campaign in the Netherlands; but events of greater importance took place in Spain.

The army of Charles was commanded by the English general Stanhope and the Austrian marshal Staremburg; that of Philip by the marquess of Villadarias. The former entered Aragon, while the latter invaded Catalonia: as it was on its return, the allies wished to cut it off from Lerida, and on the evening of the 27th of July, their cavalry, led by Stanhope in person, engaged and routed, near the village of Almenara, a superior body of the Spanish cavalry. Night saved the Spanish army from a total rout. They retired to Lerida and thence to Zaragoza, whither they were followed by the allies, who passed the Ebro unopposed. The rival monarchs were present with their armies; that of Philip counted twenty-five thousand, that of Charles twenty-three thousand men. A battle was fought under the walls of that ancient city (Aug. 20), which ended in the total defeat of the Spaniards, who lost five thousand slain and wounded, four thousand prisoners, and all their colours and artillery. The loss of the victors was only fifteen hundred men. Philip fled to Madrid and thence to Valladolid, and Charles soon after entered the capital, but he found it nearly deserted. The fidelity of the Castilians to his rival was invincible, and their efforts soon placed him at the head of another army, of which the duke of Vendôme took the command. As Catalonia was menaced by the French, the allies resolved to return thither; on account of the difficulty of procuring supplies they were obliged to march in separate divisions, and Vendôme, having with his entire army surrounded Stanhope, who had about five thousand English troops, in the town of Brihuega, forced him to surrender (Dec. 9) after a most gallant defence. Next day Vendôme gave battle on the plain of Villa Viciosa to Staremburg, who was advancing to the relief of Stanhope. The honour of the day remained with the German; but he was so harassed by the partisans in his retreat that he did not bring more than seven thousand men back to Barcelona. The war in Spain was now virtually at an end; it was plain that the Castilian spirit was

not to be subdued ; and the succession of Charles to the imperial throne soon altered the relations of Europe.

We now return to the domestic affairs of England during the time of the war.

Since the accession of James I., the necessity of a closer union between the two British kingdoms had been apparent to judicious statesmen. The Act of Security passed by the Scottish parliament in 1704 proved the danger of delaying that measure any longer ; for by this it was enacted, that on the death of the queen without issue, the Estates should appoint a successor of the royal line and a protestant ; but that it should not be the same person who would succeed to the throne of England, unless the independence of the Scottish nation and parliament, and the religion, trade, and liberty of the people, had previously been secured against English influence. The queen gave her assent to this act by the advice of Godolphin, whose object is said to have been to frighten the English into a union of the kingdoms by the terror of a separation of the two British crowns. If such was his plan, it was eminently successful. The act was regarded in England as almost a declaration of war. A bill rapidly passed both houses, empowering the queen to appoint commissioners for a union of the kingdoms ; declaring the Scots aliens if they did not accede to a treaty or adopt the Hanoverian succession within a year ; prohibiting the importation of their cattle and linens ; and appointing cruisers to prevent their trade with France. An address was made to the queen to put the towns of Carlisle, Berwick, Newcastle, and Hull in a state of defence ; troops were marched to the borders ; and the six northern counties were called on to arm for their defence.

In the Scottish parliament there were three parties ; the court-party, headed by the duke of Queensberry ; the jacobites, whose chief was the duke of Hamilton ; and the country-party, who, though zealous for the independence of the kingdom, were attached to the protestant succession.

In this party there were various shades of opinion ; it contained royalists and republicans, of which last class Fletcher of Saltoun was by far the most eminent. This man was the perfect model of those who with pure motives seek to convert a monarchy into a republic. He was, as it was expressed, "brave as the sword he wore," of unstained honour, of strict probity, of ardent patriotism, of simple and nervous eloquence, of extensive reading and knowledge of mankind ; but he was stern and obstinate, impatient of contradiction, chimerical in his projects, and enthusiastic in his spirit ; in a word, a man who would dictate, not concede ; and meliorate on his own principles, or not at all. A portion of the country-party, comprising the marquess of Tweeddale, lord Belhaven, and other late ministers of the crown, formed what was termed the *Squadron Volante*, and sought to trim the balance between the two parties of court and opposition.

An act for a treaty of union with England was by good management carried in the Scottish parliament (1705), and the queen was empowered to appoint commissioners for arranging it. The parliament was then adjourned, and the commissioners selected by the queen held their conferences at the Cockpit in Westminster (1706).

The Scottish commissioners proposed a federal, instead of an incorporating union ; but the English insisting on this last, they readily gave way, and the following terms of union were agreed on. The succession of the united kingdom to remain to the princess Sophia and the heirs of her body being protestants ; in the parliament of Great Britain, the number of peers for Scotland to be sixteen, elected for every parliament by and out of the Scottish peerage ; of commons, forty-five, two-thirds for counties and one-third for boroughs ; the same duties of excise and customs to be levied in both parts of the united kingdom ; and when England raised two millions by a land-tax, Scotland was to raise 48,000*l.*, etc. etc.

The number of representatives allotted to Scotland was

loudly exclaimed against ; and it was argued, that as its population was a sixth of that of England, its representatives should in justice form a sixth instead of a twelfth part of the legislature as proposed : but it was replied, that mere number was not to be the only basis ; that the burdens borne were also to be taken into computation ; and that the Scots had insisted on not paying more than a fortieth of the land-tax. It was also intimated that on this point the English ministry were resolved not to yield, and prospects of English peerages were held out to the Scottish nobles. The great hope of carrying the union, however, rested on what was termed the *Equivalent*, a sum of 398,000*l.* which England was to pay for the customs and excise of Scotland in as far as they were appropriated toward the discharge of its national debt. This was to go to the payment of arrears of salaries, etc., to the compensation of the share-holders in a company which had been formed in Scotland for colonising the Isthmus of Darien, and which had met with the fate due to so wild a project. In short, the *Equivalent* was to form a specious fund of bribery.

The Scottish parliament met on the 13th of October : the duke of Queensberry, a man of the highest rank and most conciliating manners, prudent and resolute, sat as the royal commissioner. The treaty was read, and then printed and published. Forthwith a storm of indignation burst forth over the whole kingdom ; each class saw danger to its own peculiar interests ; all fired at the thought of the loss of national independence. Addresses against it were poured in from all parts ; tumults arose in Edinburgh ; the Cameronians of the west were preparing to take up arms and dissolve the parliament by force. Two-thirds of the nation, in fact, were decidedly opposed to the union.

The court-party argued in favour of the union from the injurious ascendancy which England had long possessed over Scotland, and for which it was the only remedy likely to be efficacious, as history proved that federal unions

were only sources of discord ; a share in the trade of England would thus be obtained ; it was, in fine, the part of prudence to submit cheerfully to what was inevitable ; the union would be like the marriage of a maiden chaste and prudent, but conscious of her weakness, to a man noble and powerful, thus preserving her identity and honour under another name.

The country-party argued from the aversion of the nation ; they denied the right of parliament to alienate what was only a trust ; they drew highly-coloured pictures of the ruin and degradation which must inevitably overwhelm Scotland. They appealed to the interests, the passions, the imagination. In prophetic vision lord Belhaven saw the barons, whose ancestors had exacted tribute throughout England, walking like attorneys in the court of requests, and English excisemen receiving more homage than had been given to *their* ancestors : he saw the tradesmen eating saltless pottage, and drinking water instead of ale ; the daughters of the gentry petitioning for husbands, their sons for employment ; “ But above all,” cried he, “ I see our ancient mother Caledonia, like Cæsar, sitting in the midst of our senate, looking mournfully around, covering herself with her royal garment, and breathing out her last words, *And thou too, my son!* while she attends the fatal blow from our hands.”

The force of reason, the force of argument, but, above all, the force of the Equivalent, prevailed against all the efforts of mistaken patriotism. The *Squadron Volante* was gained to the court ; Hamilton proved false to his party ; and the act of ratification was passed by the large majority of one hundred and ten. By a separate act the presbyterian form of church-government was secured. To gratify the poor nobility so numerous in Scotland, the privilege of freedom from personal arrest was accorded to the Scottish peerage. The act of union, when transmitted to England, after encountering some opposition from the high tories in

the house of peers, received the approbation of the English legislature, and (May 1, 1707) the two kingdoms were incorporated into one, to be called GREAT BRITAIN.

During this time the struggle of parties went on in the English parliament and cabinet. The tories twice renewed their efforts to carry their bill against occasional conformity, even attempting to tack it to the bill for the land-tax. In the cabinet, Marlborough and Godolphin were thwarted by them in their views respecting the mode of conducting the war. These ministers contrived, however, to get rid of Rochester in 1703; and in the following year they were equally successful with respect to Nottingham, Jersey, and sir Edward Seymour. The duchess was most anxious to effect a union between Marlborough and the whigs, but, great as her influence was over him, she did not succeed. Harley became secretary in place of Nottingham; and Henry St. John, a young man of great promise, was made secretary-at-war. The attempts of the tories to depreciate his glorious victory at Blenheim tended however greatly to alienate Marlborough from them; and the result of the elections for a new parliament in 1705, which gave a clear majority to the whigs in the commons, led him and Godolphin to contemplate a union with that party. Even previous to the meeting of parliament, the whig influence had been sufficient to cause the dismissal of the duke of Buckingham (late marquess of Normanby) from the privy-seal, and the appointment of the duke of Newcastle; and the transfer of the great seal from sir Nathan Wright to Mr. William Cowper. The contest for the office of speaker was between Mr. Smith of the whig and Mr. Bromley of the tory party: the former was supported by the court, and carried it by a majority of forty-three. The speech from the throne accorded with the views of the whigs, and the addresses of the two houses re-echoed it.

The first attack of the tories on their rivals was a motion in the lords (Nov. 15) to address the queen to invite the presumptive heiress of the crown to reside in England.

By this they hoped to reduce the whigs to a disagreeable dilemma; for, if they supported it, they would offend the queen; if they opposed it, they would injure themselves both with the house of Hanover and with the nation. They, however, manfully opposed it, and brought in a bill for the appointment of a regency to act in case of the queen's demise, and another for naturalising the whole of the electoral family. These bills were carried, after much opposition to the former from the tories; and the dislike of the queen to the whigs was now evidently diminished. As much had been said during the debate of the church being in danger, lord Halifax moved to appoint a day for inquiry into that danger. When the day came, an angry debate took place; but both houses concurred, by large majorities, in a resolution that the church was in a most safe and flourishing condition.

The strength of the tory party was weakened by division, while the whigs acted in one compact body, under the direction of the *junto*, as it was named, which was composed of the lords Somers, Halifax, Wharton, Orford, and Sunderland; this last the son of James's minister, and son-in-law of Marlborough, but the devoted admirer of Somers. The bias of the queen, the general, and the treasurer was to the tories; but the first had been offended by their late conduct, and the two last saw that it was only from the whigs that they could expect support in their foreign policy. The *junto* felt their power, and insisted on a larger share for their party in the profits and influence of office. They required that sir Charles Hedges should be dismissed, and Sunderland be made secretary in his place; but it was the policy of the queen to give sway to neither party; and she had, moreover, a personal dislike to Sunderland. The policy of her two great ministers had been the same as hers, but they saw the necessity of giving way; yet it cost them a year's labour and the threat of resignation to overcome the reluctance of the queen (1708).

They had, however, been secretly thwarted in the whole

affair by their colleague Harley, and a bed-chamber influence of which they were not aware. The duchess of Marlborough had a cousin who was married to a Mr. Hill, an eminent Turkey merchant, who became a bankrupt; his family in consequence fell into great poverty, and the duchess kindly provided for his children. She placed Abigail, one of the daughters, about the person of the queen as bed-chamber-woman*, reckoning, of course, that she would always adhere to the interests of her patroness. But Mrs. Hill soon found that she might aspire higher. The queen, weak and yielding as she was, gradually became weary of the domineering temper of the duchess, and she poured her complaints into the ear of her obsequious attendant, who, it was soon observed, was fast rising in favour and influence. It happened that Mrs. Hill was related to Harley on the father's, as to the duchess on the mother's side; and, as her politics were tory, that wily statesman entered into a close alliance with her, and by her means influenced the queen. The duchess's friends warned her in vain of the way in which her power was being undermined. At length the private marriage of Mrs. Hill with Mr. Masham, an officer in the royal household, celebrated in the presence of only the queen and Dr. Arbuthnot the court physician, opened her eyes. Godolphin about the same time obtained convincing proofs of Harley's secret machinations.

The policy of Marlborough and Godolphin in joining neither party had the usual fate; both were alienated from them. The ill success of the war in 1707 afforded topics of attack to the discontented. The two ministers saw more strongly than ever the necessity of conciliating the whigs; and they received further proofs of Harley's treachery. The whigs having given them the strongest assurances of their support, they waited on the queen and told her that they could serve her no longer unless Harley were dis-

* Hence Abigail became a common term for a lady's-maid.

missed. She remained firm. On the next meeting of the cabinet-council the two ministers were absent. Harley was proceeding to business, when the duke of Somerset said he did not see how they could deliberate without the general and treasurer. The looks of the others expressed their assent; Harley was disconcerted; the queen broke up the council in anger and alarm. The commons and the city gave signs of their discontent. Still the queen was unmoved; but Harley himself saw the difficulties of his situation, and resigned. St. John and the attorney-general, sir Simon Harcourt, followed his example, and their places were given to Mr. Boyle, Mr. Robert Walpole, and sir James Montague, brother of lord Halifax. This last appointment was long resisted by the queen; and all the influence of Marlborough and Godolphin failed to procure a seat in the cabinet, though without office, for Somers. The queen, in fact, disliked the whigs more than ever, and was still secretly actuated by Harley; and *they* showed themselves as factious as the Tories had been; for, bent on coming into office, they had resolved to annoy both the queen and Marlborough by an attack on the admiralty, that is, on *her* husband and on *his* brother, admiral Churchill, by whom the prince was guided. Marlborough had consented to give up his brother, when the opportune death of the prince (Oct. 28) removed all difficulties. Lord Pembroke was made lord high-admiral, and was succeeded by Somers as president of the council; and Wharton became lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

Nothing, however, would content the whigs short of the possession of all offices of emolument and influence; and the condition of the general and treasurer, between them and the queen, was far from enviable. To add to their embarrassments, the desire of peace was becoming general. The apparent willingness of Louis to concede, weighed with many; the pressure of taxation with others; the want of French wines and other foreign luxuries rendered

numbers pacific* ; and Marlborough was charged with desiring to prolong the war from selfish motives.

Orford having replaced Pembroke at the admiralty, the ministry may be regarded as whig from the close of the year 1708, when a new parliament met, and sir Richard Onslow, a whig, was chosen speaker. In its second session (1709) the violence of party-zeal hurried it into a measure which eventually overthrew the ministry.

There was a clergyman, named Sacheverell, a preacher at St. Saviour's Southwark, one of those men of little talent and less learning, but of a restless and ambitious temper, such as may be found at times among the clergy. This man took on him to be a champion of high-church doctrines ; and, in a sermon preached before the lord-mayor and aldermen on the 5th of November, he asserted the monstrous doctrine of passive obedience, in the most unqualified terms ; attacked the dissenters and the toleration ; styled the moderate bishops " perfidious prelates and false sons of the church ;" and called on the people to stand up in its defence. He also assailed the administration, particularly Godolphin, whom he styled Volpone. This wretched farrago was published at the desire of the lord-mayor ; the Tories extolled it as almost inspired, and they circulated forty thousand copies of it. The ministers held several consultations. Somers and Marlborough were, it is said†, for leaving the matter to the ordinary tribunals ; but Godolphin, whose feelings were wounded, and the others resolved on an impeachment. Articles were therefore exhibited against Sacheverell, and the 27th of February, 1710, was the day fixed for the trial in Westminster-hall. In the interval the Tories and the clergy in general made

* " All the bottle-companions," says Cunningham, " many physicians, and great numbers of the lawyers and inferior clergy, and in fine the loose women too, were united together in the faction against the duke of Marlborough." " It was strange," says he, " to see how much the desire of French wine and the dearness of it alienated many men from his friendship." This selfish worthless crew always exists ; it was just the same in the late war.

† Coxe's Life of Marlborough, ii. 141.

every effort to inflame the minds of the populace and excite their zeal for the church.

The trial lasted for three weeks. The managers were sir Joseph Jekyl, general Stanhope, Walpole, King, and others. The Doctor, as he was called, was defended by Harcourt and Phipps, and assisted by Drs. Atterbury, Smallridge, and Friend. He was brought each day from the Temple, where he had been placed, to the Hall in a coach, round which the people pressed, eager to kiss his hand. The queen came daily to hear the trial; and the populace used to crowd round her sedan, crying, "God bless your majesty and the church, we hope your majesty is for Dr. Sacheverell."

The managers had a delicate part to act; for, as Sacheverell had asserted that the revolution was *not* a case of resistance (he did not impugn it), they had to show that it was, and thence to assert the lawfulness of taking arms against the law, and that in the presence of the queen. They, however, did not shrink from their duty. Sacheverell's counsel freely acknowledged the lawfulness of resistance, but they maintained that he was justified in his doctrine of non-resistance by the homilies and the writings of eminent Anglican divines. He was voted guilty by a majority of sixty-nine to fifty-two, of which last thirty-four signed a protest. He was sentenced to be suspended from preaching for three years, and his sermon to be publicly burnt; and the Oxford decree of 1683 was condemned to share its fate. This gentle sentence was regarded by the tory party as a triumph, and such in fact it was. Bonfires and illuminations, in London and all over the kingdom, testified their joy; and addresses in favour of non-resistance poured in from all quarters.

Harley and the favourite, now sure of the temper of the nation, resolved to hesitate no longer. They had already sought to mortify Marlborough, by getting the queen, on the death of lord Essex, to give his regiment to Major Hill, Mrs. Masham's brother. Marlborough, highly in-

dignant, insisted on the favourite's being dismissed, or else he would resign ; but the efforts of Godolphin and other friends accommodated the matter, and he was contented with the disposal of the regiment being left with him. To prove, as it were, the influence of the favourite, the queen soon after gave Hill a pension of 1000*l.* a year ; and she made the duke consent to raise him to the rank of brigadier.

It was Harley's plan to overthrow the ministry by degrees. He began by causing the queen to take the office of lord-chamberlain from the marquess of Kent, and confer it on the duke of Shrewsbury ; for this amiable but versatile nobleman, who had returned from Italy, where he had resided for some years, was now alienated in some degree from the whigs on public and even on private grounds, as they did not, he thought, pay due attention to his lady, an Italian countess who had been originally his mistress, and who, as is usually the case, now governed him. He was therefore easily gained over by Harley. The queen made the appointment (Apr. 13) while Godolphin was at Newmarket, and announced it to him by a dry letter. The treasurer acted with his usual indecision : the whigs fearing a dissolution suffered themselves to be cajoled by Shrewsbury ; and Harley, now reckoning the victory sure, made his next attack on Sunderland, a man whose overbearing temper had raised him many enemies, and to whom the queen had a peculiar antipathy. The treasurer was as usual without spirit, his whig colleagues clung to their places with the pertinacity distinctive of their party, and abandoned Sunderland ; and the queen had the gratification (June 14) of dismissing him and giving the seals to Lord Dartmouth, a zealous high-church-man. Jacobites and high Tories now flocked to court and congratulated the queen on her emancipation, as they affected to regard it ; the duke of Beaufort, for instance, said to her, "Your majesty is now queen indeed."

The next stroke stunned the whigs. On the 7th of August, Godolphin, who saw that the queen was annoyed at some things he had said in council, had an audience of her. He concluded his discourse by asking, "Is it the will of your majesty that I should go on?" "Yes," said she, without hesitation. That very evening he received a letter from her, desiring him to break his white staff of office! The treasury was put into commission, Harley taking the chancellorship of the exchequer.

The temper of the nation had now been ascertained in various ways, and the prevalence of the high-church and tory spirit was beyond question. That wretched tool Sacheverell, having been presented by a Mr. Lloyd with a living in North Wales, his party took advantage of his going to take possession of it to make a demonstration. His progress thither, as it was termed, resembled those of the monarchs in former times. The nobility entertained him sumptuously at their houses; the university of Oxford showed him equal honour; the magistrates of corporate towns met him with their insignia of office. The hedges were for miles decked with garlands and lined with spectators, streamers waved from the steeples of the churches, the air resounded with the cry of "The church and Dr. Sacheverell!" At Bridgenorth, a Mr. Cresswell met him at the head of four thousand men on horseback, and as many on foot, wearing white knots edged with gold, and leaves of gilt laurel in their hats. It is a pity that so much really good and honest feeling should have been wasted on so unworthy an object*.

Emboldened by these signs of the popular sentiment, the cabal thought they might now safely venture on a dissolution and a total change of ministry. The queen therefore came to the council (Sept. 21), and ordered a proclamation to be issued for dissolving the parliament. The chancellor

* Harcourt, when chancellor, actually tried to obtain a bishoprick for him, but the queen would not consent. He however got the living of St. Andrew's, Holborn.

rose to speak, but she said, "she would admit of no debate, for that such was her pleasure." A general change of administration immediately followed; lord Somers, the duke of Devonshire, and Mr. Boyle resigned, and their places were taken by lord Rochester, the duke of Buckingham, and Mr. St. John. Wharton and Orford having also resigned, the lieutenancy of Ireland was given to the duke of Ormond, and the admiralty was put into commission. All the efforts of Harley and the queen having failed to induce lord Cowper to retain the great seal, it was put into commission, but was soon given to sir Simon Harcourt. Of all the whigs, the dukes of Somerset and Newcastle alone remained in high offices.

Thus fell the most glorious, the most able, and we may add, perhaps the most virtuous and patriotic administration that England had possessed since the days of Elizabeth. It fell by disunion in itself, by the imprudent impeachment of a contemptible divine, and by the intrigues of the bed-chamber, where a weak woman, whom the constitution had invested with power, was domineered over by one waiting-maid and wheedled and flattered by another.

When the parliament met (Nov. 25), it proved almost entirely tory, and Bromley was chosen speaker with little or no opposition.

Marlborough on his return was subjected to every kind of indignity. The queen herself desired him not to allow a vote of thanks to him to be moved in parliament, and he had the mortification to see the thanks of the houses bestowed on Peterborough for his Quixotic exploits in Spain. In spite of his most urgent solicitations, his duchess was deprived of her places at court, which were divided between the duchess of Somerset and Mrs. Masham, and an attempt was even made to convict her of peculation. Swift and the other libellers in the service of the ministry poured out all their venom on him. "He was ridiculed," says Smollet, "in public libels, and reviled in private conversation. Instances were everywhere repeated of his

fraud, avarice, and extortion; of his insolence, cruelty, ambition, and misconduct. Even his courage was called in question, and this consummate general was represented as the lowest of mankind." Among his other annoyances, he had to listen to lectures on his military conduct from Harley and St. John. Yet he did not resign; for Godolphin and the whigs, the emperor, and all the allies implored him to retain the command of the army, as otherwise all their hopes would be gone.

Harley, in the midst of his triumph, found that he was not to lie on a bed of roses. The more violent tories, headed by Rochester, regarding him and his friend as lukewarm, formed to control him, a combination of not less than one hundred and thirty members of the house of commons, under the name of the October Club, and the whigs on their part had a powerful auxiliary in the duchess of Somerset, a lady of high character, and loved and respected by the queen. Harley and St. John immediately began to make overtures to the duke of Marlborough, and it is probable that they must have come to terms with the whigs, or have succumbed to the October Club, had not a fortunate event arisen to extricate them (1711).

There was a French refugee, called the marquess Guiscard, who had had the command of a regiment, which being broken after the battle of Almanza, he obtained a pension of 500*l.* a year. Harley reduced this pension to 400*l.*, and Guiscard in his rage proposed to the French cabinet to acquaint them with sundry secrets of state of which he was possessed. His letters were intercepted, and he was arrested on a charge of high-treason. He was brought before the council at the Cockpit (Mar. 8) and an order was made to convey him to Newgate. He resisted the messenger, and rushing forward struck Harley in the bosom with a penknife which he had concealed; the blade broke against the bone; he struck again with the stump, but St. John and the others drawing their swords, fell on and gave him several wounds. He was then taken

to Newgate, where he died of the injuries which he had received. The general sympathy was thus awakened for Harley, and he was regarded as a victim to his zeal for the public service. The death of lord Rochester (May 2) was also of advantage to him, and he was forthwith (24th) raised to the peerage by the title of earl of Oxford and Mortimer, and (29th) made lord high-treasurer. The duke of Buckingham succeeded Rochester (June 12), and several other promotions took place in the course of the year.

The military events of this year, the last of Marlborough's glorious career of victory, were few; but no campaign more displayed his consummate military skill. Villars had drawn strongly-fortified lines from Bouchain on the Schelt to Arras, and he proudly styled them Marlborough's *ne plus ultra*. Yet the duke, by a skilful manœuvre, passed them without the loss of a single man, and then invested and took Bouchain (Sept. 14), though situated in a morass strongly fortified, and defended by a large garrison, with an army more numerous than that of the allies at hand to relieve it.

But it was needless for Marlborough to gain victories and capture towns; the ministry were so bent on peace that they were actually in secret negotiation with the court of France. In the beginning of the year (Jan. 11) their agent Gaultier, a French priest, waited on the marquess de Torcy*, the French secretary of state, and abruptly asked him if he wished for peace, which was, says Torcy, "like asking a sick man whether he wishes to recover." Louis however saw his advantage, and affected not to be in any great need of it; he endeavoured to draw the English cabinet into a separate negotiation. Matthew Prior, the poet, was sent secretly to Paris, and M. Mesnager to London, and preliminary articles were agreed on (Oct. 8), which were then communicated to the Dutch and imperial

* This able man was the second son of the great Colbert.

ministers at the court of London, the latter of whom caused them to be inserted in the paper called the *Post-boy*, and their appearance excited the indignation of all who had a feeling of national dignity and honour.

The ministers of the allies made strong representations against the peace, and the whig party was now strengthened by the accession of lord Nottingham, who was offended with the ministers. The queen tried to no purpose the effect of *closeting* on Marlborough, Somers, Cowper, and others: an amendment to the address, declaring that no peace could be safe or honourable if Spain and the West Indies were to be allotted to any branch of the house of Bourbon, was proposed by Nottingham and carried against the ministry, who however had influence enough to have a similar clause rejected in the commons by a large majority. But the queen herself now gave symptoms of wavering, and the timid and self-interested in both houses began to look about them. Oxford saw that he must act with decision or be lost. As he ascribed the power of the opposition chiefly to the influence of Marlborough, he resolved to strike him down; charges of fraud and peculation were therefore made against him, and the queen, over whom the bed-chamber party had recovered their influence, wrote him a letter on New-year's day, 1712, dismissing him from all his employments. To follow up their victory, the ministers had recourse the very next day to a most unconstitutional act of prerogative, by calling no less than twelve new peers to the upper house, among whom was the husband of the favourite*. The queen then sent a message, desiring the house to adjourn to the 14th: as this was an unusual measure, a debate arose, and the resolution was carried only by the votes of the new peers. When the

* It is the only instance that has *as yet* occurred in our history. Swift asserts that "a third part were of those on whom or their posterity the peerage would naturally devolve, and the rest were such whose merit, birth, and fortune could admit of no exception." Such of course was Mr. Masham!

question was about to be put to them, Wharton, alluding to their number, asked one of them, if they voted individually or by their foreman.

Secure of majorities in both houses, the ministry proceeded in the charges against Marlborough. These were two: the one, the having received an annual sum from the contractor of bread for the army; the other, a deduction of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the pay of the foreign auxiliaries; and the whole was made to amount to the sum of 282,366*l.* sterling. These charges had been made before the return of the duke, and he had sent home a refutation of them. With respect to the first, he said that it had been a perquisite of the general commanding-in-chief in the Low Countries even before the revolution; and this was proved by sir John Germain, who had been aide-de-camp to prince Waldeck in 1689. The per-centage, he said, was the voluntary gift of the allied princes, to be employed for secret service. It had been originally granted for that purpose to king William by the members of the Grand Alliance, and had been continued to the duke, with the approbation of the queen, whose warrant, countersigned by sir Charles Hedges, was produced. It amounted only to 30,000*l.* a-year; and the duke was always better served than king William had been, who spent 50,000*l.* a-year in this way. But it was useless to refute, the ministers were sure of their majority; and it was voted, by two hundred and seventy to one hundred and sixty-five, that the former was illegal, and that the latter was public money, and ought to be accounted for. An address was made to the queen, and she ordered the attorney-general to prosecute the duke; but there the matter ended. The ministers did not dare to impeach him, or to reply to a vindication of him which was published, or to prosecute it as a libel. An attempt to fix on him the stigma of trafficking in commissions only served to show the malignity of his enemies.

During these disgraceful proceedings prince Eugene arrived in London (Jan. 5) with proposals from the emperor

for carrying on the war with vigour. He was received, of course, with all due marks of attention, both public and private, and the queen presented him with a sword worth 4500*l.*; but the ministers were too much bent on a dishonourable peace to attend to his proposals, and he quitted England in disgust (March 17). Some of the ministers had even countenanced a profligate jesuit named Plunket in his pretended discovery of a plot of Eugene, Marlborough, and the leading whigs to seize the queen, murder Oxford and his friends, and place the elector of Hanover on the throne*.

The negotiations for peace were now going on at Utrecht, whither all the allies had sent ministers; but the courts of Paris and London were still treating in secret. In the midst of the negotiations an event occurred which threatened to put an end to them. The dauphin had died in the preceding year, and death now swept away his son the duke of Burgundy, with his wife and their eldest son; and there only remained the youngest son, a sickly infant in the cradle, between Philip and the throne of France. As his retention of the crown of Spain had been all along a condition of the peace, Louis offered that he should make a formal renunciation of his right to that of France; at the same time candidly owning that such an act would be, by the laws of France, utterly invalid. Yet even this feeble security contented the English cabinet, and they agreed to desert their allies if they refused to consent to it†.

The English troops in the Netherlands were now commanded by the duke of Ormond; the whole confederate army of one hundred and twenty-two thousand men was directed by prince Eugene. The French army under Villars amounted only to one hundred thousand men, ill-equipped and dispirited. To force their camp, pour the allied troops over the plains of Picardy and Champagne,

* That shameless libeller Swift charges Eugene positively with proposing the murder of Oxford.

† See Coxe's *Life of Lord Walpole*, I. 50, *note*.

and dictate peace under the walls of Paris, were now not only possible but probable events. But no glory awaited Ormond. When the queen had informed parliament of the preliminaries having been agreed on, orders were sent to him to cease from all operations, and march with his troops to Dunkirk, which Louis had engaged to give to the English. The foreign troops in British pay spurned at the orders to separate from the confederates. "The Hessians," said their gallant prince, "will gladly march, if it be to fight the French." "We do not serve for pay, but for fame," said another commander. A general hiss ran through the English camp when the cessation of arms was proclaimed; the soldiers tore their hair with rage, and reviled their general; the officers shut themselves up in their tents: tears flowed from their eyes when they thought of Marlborough and his glories. Ormond's troops were refused admittance into the fortified towns, and he had to seize Ghent and Bruges. Louis hesitated to give up Dunkirk, till admonished of the danger of refusal.

Eugene captured Quesnoy; but the desertion of England had struck a damp to the hearts of the allies; and Villars restored the ascendancy of France. The Peace of Utrecht was signed on the 14th of April, 1713, by all the powers except the emperor and the empire.

By this peace Philip was to retain Spain and the Indies, giving the Netherlands and Italian dominions to the emperor, and Sicily to the duke of Savoy. The title of the queen of England and the protestant succession were acknowledged; Gibraltar and Minorca and some parts of America were ceded to England; and an *asiento*, or contract for supplying the Spanish colonies with negroes for thirty years, was granted to the English merchants.

There can be no doubt that by this peace all the ends of the Grand Alliance were frustrated, and the splendid victories of Blenheim and Ramillies rendered useless; and had not Heaven preserved the life of the puny heir in France, another general war must have ensued, or Philip

have been tamely suffered to unite the two crowns. On the other hand, it seemed manifestly unjust to impose a sovereign on the Spanish nation; yet it was hardly less so to dismember the monarchy. But loss of honour was the great loss of England in this opprobrious treaty. She basely deserted and betrayed her allies; and the infamy would be indelible, were the fact not certain, that it was the deed of an unprincipled minister, the secret foe of the protestant succession, and supported by the jacobites and high tories, and not the act of the nation*.

While the treaty which was to blight all the glorious promises of his administration was pending, lord Godolphin died. This upright and disinterested statesman, who had enjoyed so many opportunities of amassing wealth, left only 12,000*l.* behind him. Yet the present ministry had made a base attempt to fix a charge of peculation on *him* also; they, however, had signally failed.

The character of lord Godolphin ranks high for probity and disinterestedness. Burnet says, that "he was the silentest and modestest man who was perhaps ever bred in a court. His notions," he adds, "were for the court, but his incorrupt and sincere way of managing the concerns of the treasury created in all people a very high esteem for him. He had true principles of religion and virtue, and never heaped up wealth. So that all things being laid together, he was one of the worthiest and wisest men who was employed in that age." The prelate elsewhere speaks of Godolphin in similar terms, and others express themselves to the same effect.†

After the death of his friend, Marlborough put into execution a design which he had long formed of retiring to the continent. The ministers and their friends in the house,

* Lord Chatham, writing in 1759 to the British minister at the court of Berlin, says, "Whenever peace shall be judged proper to come under consideration, *no peace of Utrecht* will again stain the annals of England."—Correspondence of Lord Chatham, i. 411.

† Even Swift says of him, "I think he cannot be accused of corruption."

and Swift, Mrs. Manly, and their other hired writers out of it, were continually assailing his character, both public and private; and a shabby attempt was made to fix on him the expenses of Blenheim-house, for which the crown stood engaged. The reception of the greatest man of the age at Antwerp, Aix-la-Chapelle, and the other places which he visited, was enthusiastic, and consoled him in some measure for the ungenerous treatment which he had met with in his own country.

An attempt to dissolve the Union at this time offers a curious instance of the change of party-tactics. It was moved in the house of lords by one of the Scottish peers, was supported by the whigs and opposed by the tories, and lost by a majority only of four.

Oxford and St. John (lately created viscount Bolingbroke), though they had united to overthrow the Godolphin ministry, had never been cordial friends. The former had the superiority in principle and in knowledge of business; but he was procrastinating, dissembling, cautious, mysterious, and intriguing, and therefore unable to gain the confidence of any party. He was of that class of statesmen who deal in expedients, and are always manœuvring; whose minds are too little to conceive anything grand and vast. The character of Bolingbroke was the very opposite; his talents were splendid, his eloquence commanding, his manners and person graceful and elegant; but he was dissolute and unprincipled—an English Alcibiades. While Oxford leaned to the whigs and favoured the protestant succession, Bolingbroke sought for support among the high tories, brought many of them into office, and formed a close alliance with the lady Masham. Devoid of religion, he affected to be a champion of the church; and, with a thorough contempt of the Stuarts and their maxims of government, he engaged in projects for their restoration. In these projects the dukes of Ormond and Buckingham, the chancellor Harcourt, sir William Wyndham, and other members of the cabinet shared; but the duke of Shrews-

bury, the lords Dartmouth, Trevor, and Paulet, and Robinson bishop of London*, were firm to the protestant succession. Lady Masham was a zealous jacobite. The queen hated the electoral family, and had no love for her brother, though she had some scruples about his right, which, however, were balanced by her attachment to the church. She veered about as the influence of lady Somerset or lady Masham prevailed.

The parliament having been dissolved, a new one met (Feb. 16, 1714). Its composition was much the same as before; but the tory portion was less powerful, being divided into Hanoverian tories, nicknamed Whimsicals, and jacobite tories, *i. e.* friends of the electoral family, or of the Pretender. The danger was now in fact thought to be very imminent. The queen during the winter had a severe attack of gout, and it was manifest that she was fast drawing to her end; Oxford's influence was on the decline; the adherents of the house of Stuart were, through the influence of Bolingbroke, put into civil and military posts; and the jacobites gave open demonstrations of their designs. It was the general opinion that whichever of the competitors had the start would get the crown; and Schutz, the Hanoverian envoy, therefore, by the advice of the whig leaders, demanded a writ of summons for the electoral prince, as duke of Cambridge, with a view to his residence in England. The writ could not be refused, but the queen was highly indignant: she forbade Schutz the court, and wrote in strong terms to the electoral family. The sudden death, by apoplexy, of the princess Sophia (June 7) was by some ascribed to the effect on her of the queen's letter.

At this time no one was more zealous in the cause of the elector than the duke of Marlborough. He sent general Cadogan over to arrange with general Stanhope and the Hanoverian leaders for the transport of troops to England; and proposed himself to gain over the garrison of

* This prelate was lord privy-seal and one of the negotiators at Utrecht. He is the last churchman who has had a seat in the cabinet.

Dunkirk, and embark at its head. He urged the elector not to be sparing of his money, and offered him a loan of 20,000*l*.

Bolingbroke at length triumphed over his rival. The treasurer's staff was taken from Oxford (July 27), and the secretary was regarded as the future prime-minister. After a slight attempt at cajoling the whigs, he was proceeding to the formation of a jacobite cabinet, when the untasted cup of power was suddenly dashed from his lips. The queen grew alarmingly ill on the 29th; and, as a committee of the privy-council was sitting to make arrangements in case of her death, the dukes of Somerset and Argyle suddenly entered the room. Shrewsbury rose and thanked them. They proposed that the queen's physicians should be examined; and, when assured of her danger, they said that the post of treasurer should be filled without delay, and the duke of Shrewsbury be recommended for it to the queen. Bolingbroke and his party were stunned. A deputation waited on the queen, who approved of their choice, and gave the staff to the duke, bidding him to use it for the good of her people*. She soon after fell into a lethargy, and on the morning of the first of August she expired, in the fiftieth year of her age. The elector of Hanover was proclaimed as George I.

With Anne ended the dynasty of the Stuarts. She was a woman of narrow intellect, but of good intentions; a model of conjugal and maternal duty. The title of 'Good Queen Anne,' given to her, proves the public sense of her virtues. She possessed, however, a portion of the obstinacy of her family, and had some of their notions of prerogative. In person the queen was comely, and her voice was so melodious that it acted like a charm on the auditors when she spoke from the throne. All through her reign she was highly and deservedly popular.

* This was the last lord-treasurer; the treasury has been ever since in commission, and the prime minister is usually first lord (commissioner) of the treasury.

During the reigns of William and Anne the constitution, as was to be expected, received many improvements. By the Bill of Rights and the Act of Settlement the limits of the prerogative were ascertained; the Toleration-act, imperfect as it was, put an end to the persecution of the Non-conformists; the law of treason was improved and made certain; the liberty of the press was completely established. The judges now for the first time became really independent, as they were to retain their places during good behaviour, and be only removeable in case of the commission of some great offence or by an address of both houses of parliament.

It was at this period that a national bank was first established in England, and paper-money, that most valuable aid to commerce, if judiciously managed, was introduced. The system of funding and the consequent formation of a national debt was now first brought into action by the inventive genius of Mr. Montague (lord Halifax) when chancellor of the exchequer. It originated in the issue of exchequer-bills (some for as low a sum as 10*l.* or 5*l.*) to the amount of 2,700,000*l.* bearing interest and transferable. The advantage to government of this *happy temerity*, as it was termed, was speedily discerned, and the practice of mortgaging future revenue, which has since been carried to such an enormous extent, was soon commenced.

To this period may also be referred the permanent establishment of a standing army in England. The efforts of the two last princes of the house of Stuart to obtain this implement of despotism, as they held it to be, had proved abortive; but the two great wars which had succeeded the Revolution, and the close connexion in which England was thereby engaged with the continental powers, had formed the army into a profession, and also made apparent that she must at all times have in readiness for domestic defence or external operation a force more efficient than trained bands, and which in skill and discipline might be on a footing with those of the continental powers. Much

jealousy was entertained for a long time at this new description of force, and it formed a fruitful subject of declamation for pretended patriots, though the annual mutiny-bill, on which it depended for its existence, made it be completely under the control of parliament. It has ever since proved the most efficient instrument, not merely in protecting the country from foreign enemies, but in preserving internal tranquillity, and has never been employed in encroachments on the liberty of the subject. It is worthy of remark, that from the very commencement commissions in the British army have been matters of purchase, and that at a very high rate.

The despatches of foreign ambassadors, which furnish so many materials for the history of the houses of Tudor and Stuart, now become comparatively of little importance. Foreign envoys were no longer on the same footing of familiar intercourse with the British sovereigns or their ministers; and as the struggles in parliament henceforth were more for place than for principles, they had less occasion to take any share in the parliamentary contests. They transacted their business with the secretaries of state, and the accounts of events which they used to write to inform their courts of, were now generally to be found in the columns of the newspapers which appeared daily.

It may finally be observed, that this period and the early part of the succeeding one was the golden age of literary men if not of literature in England. Though the sovereigns themselves were indifferent to them, the ministers loved and encouraged literature and science. Thus sir Isaac Newton was master of the mint, and John Locke a commissioner of trade; Matthew Prior an envoy at the court of France, and Joseph Addison, as we shall see, a secretary of state; not to mention Swift and others, who were promoted in their professions. This surely was a more honourable way of rewarding mental attainments than that of granting pensions, which to a delicate mind must always cause a feeling of degradation.

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HOUSE OF BRUNSWICK.

CHAPTER I.

GEORGE I*.

1714—1727.

New ministry.—Impeachments.—Mar's rebellion.—Septennial bill.—Hanoverian Junto.—Peerage bill.—South-sea scheme.—Death and character of Marlborough.—Atterbury's plot.—Death of the king.

THE measures taken by the friends of the protestant succession had been so prompt and energetic, and the confusion of Bolingbroke and his party so complete, that George I. was proclaimed without a murmur being heard; and he was acknowledged at once by the king of France and the other potentates of Europe. He was in the fifty-fifth year of his age, with the reputation of being a prudent, moderate prince; he had shown valour and skill in war, but he loved peace. He was totally ignorant of the language, constitution, and manners of England†.

On the 18th of September George I. landed at Greenwich. A new ministry, almost totally whig, was formed. The two secretaries‡ were lord Townshend and general Stanhope; Cowper was chancellor, Marlborough commander-in-chief, Wharton privy-seal, Sunderland lord-lieutenant of Ireland, Nottingham president of the council,

* Authorities: Oldmixon, Tindal, &c. Coxe's *Lives of the Walpoles*, &c.

† As the king could not speak English or Walpole French, they used to converse in Latin.

‡ One for the northern, the other for the southern department, as it was termed. This continued to be the number till the reign of George III.

Walpole* paymaster of the forces, etc. The treasury and admiralty were put into commission, with Halifax and Oxford at their head.

It has been usual to condemn the king and his advisers for thus giving power exclusively to a party; but what other course could they pursue? The experience of the two last reigns (we might add, all subsequent experience) had shown the futility of attempting to govern by a coalition ministry; and when a preference must be given to one party or the other, no one surely will blame the king for preferring his friends to, if not his enemies, his lukewarm supporters. The tories, if they recollected their own conduct in 1710, had little right to complain†; at the same time it must be owned that the whigs showed too vindictive a spirit; but party-spirit is never moderate, and least of all could it claim to be so that time.

The parliament being dissolved, a new one met (Mar. 17, 1715). It proved decidedly whig, and it proceeded without delay to the impeachment of some of the late ministers for the peace of Utrecht and other matters; and a committee of secrecy, with Walpole for its chairman, was appointed to examine the papers of Bolingbroke and others which had been seized. When it had made its report, Walpole arose and impeached Henry lord Bolingbroke of high-treason. Lord Coningsby then rose and said, "The worthy chairman of the committee has impeached the hand, but I impeach the head; he has impeached the clerk, I impeach the master;" and he impeached Robert earl of Oxford and Mortimer of high-treason. On the

* Robert Walpole, of Houghton, in Norfolk, first sat in 1700 as member for his family borough of Castle-Rising. He connected himself with the whig-party, and in 1708 he was made secretary-at-war. A charge of corruption in that office was brought against him in 1711, and he was expelled the house and committed to the Tower. As this was evidently the effect of party-spirit it only added to his reputation, and he acquired by it the glory of martyrdom. He was re-elected for Lynn in 1714.

† Bolingbroke, in his 'Letter to sir William Wyndham,' says that it had been the intention of himself and his party "to fill the employments of the kingdom, down to the meanest, with tories."

21st of June Stanhope impeached the duke of Ormond of high-treason; and next day lord Strafford was impeached of high crimes and misdemeanours by Mr. Aislabie. Sir Joseph Jekyl, a whig of unquestionable honesty, was against impeaching either Oxford or Ormond, and he spoke warmly in favour of the latter; but the spirit of the commons was not to be controlled. Bolingbroke and Ormond both fled to the continent; Oxford more manfully stood his ground, and was committed to the Tower.

The subsequent fate of these noblemen was as follows: Bolingbroke repaired to the court of the Pretender, which was at Commerci in Lorraine, and became his secretary of state. He exerted all his abilities in the service of that contemptible prince; but the factions of the petty court proving too strong for him, he was charged with treachery, and dismissed. He then bent all his efforts to procuring the reversal of his attainder in England, which he at length obtained in 1723, through the influence of the duchess of Kendal; and he forthwith commenced a political warfare against Walpole and the whig party, which only ceased with his life in 1751*. Ormond, against whom nothing could be proved, unwisely followed the example of Bolingbroke, and was like him attainted; he remained to the end of his life in the cheerless court of the Pretender, almost its solitary ornament. Oxford, after lying two years in the Tower, took occasion of a new modification of the ministry to petition for his trial being brought on. All the customary solemn preparations were made for it; but a disagreement arising between the two houses, the commons refused to proceed with their impeachment, and the peers acquitted the earl, who, however, was excepted from an

* The interest of the venal duchess was procured by a bribe of £11,000, and Walpole was threatened with a dismissal by the king if he refused to promote the measure. Walpole consented to the restoration of Bolingbroke's estates, but would not agree to his being permitted to resume his seat in the house of peers. Hence Bolingbroke's bitter hostility to him. See Cox's *Life of lord Walpole*, i., 125.

act of grace then passed, of which the only consequence to him was a prohibition to appear at court.

Meantime the Pretender and his partizans were secretly preparing to make an effort for the overthrow of the new government. The earl of Mar, disgusted at the manner in which his declaration of loyalty had been received by the king on his landing, and alarmed at the vindictive spirit shown by the whigs, lent an ear to the agents of the Pretender, retired to the Highlands, and in concert with some noblemen and chiefs of clans raised the standard of James III. (Sept. 6). Two vessels arrived with arms, ammunition, and officers from France, and he was soon at the head of ten thousand men. The government proceeded to act with great vigour; the Habeas Corpus act was suspended and several suspected noblemen and members of the house of commons were arrested. The death at this conjuncture of Louis XIV. was a great prejudice to the cause of the Pretender; for the duke of Orleans, who became regent for the minority of the young king, found it his interest to attach himself to the house of Brunswick.

While Mar had his head-quarters at Perth, and the duke of Argyle, who commanded the royal forces, lay at Stirling, the Pretender was proclaimed in the north of England by the earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Forster, who were joined by the Scottish lords Wintoun, Nithisdale, Carnwath, and Kenmuir. At Kelso they were reinforced by a body of Highlanders sent by Mar, under the command of brigadier Mackintosh. They thence proceeded to Penryth, where the *posse comitatus* of Cumberland fled at their approach, and advanced till they reached Preston in Lancashire; but here they were assailed by the royal troops under generals Willis and Carpenter, and obliged to surrender at discretion (Nov. 13).

The very day of the surrender at Preston a battle was fought between Argyle and Mar. As the latter was preparing to march southwards the duke advanced from Stirling and spread his camp from the village of Dunblaine to

the Sheriff-muir. His forces did not exceed four thousand men, while the army with which Mar attacked him amounted to nine thousand. The left wing of the royalists was in the short space of seven minutes routed and driven off the field by the clansmen ; but the right wing, led by the duke in person, defeated and chased the left of the enemy. When the victorious troops on each side returned from the pursuit, they found themselves facing each other, each occupying the ground held by the other previously. They remained inactive till the evening, when the duke retired to Dunblaine and the rebels to Ardoch. Next morning the duke returned and carried off the wounded and four pieces of cannon left by the enemy. The loss was five hundred slain on each side ; each claimed the victory, but it was really on the side of the duke.

Mar returned to Perth, and soon after (Dec. 22) the Pretender himself landed at Peterhead, and having been proclaimed, issued proclamations and received addresses as he passed through Aberdeen, Dundee, and Scone. He joined the army at Perth and his coronation was fixed for the 23rd of January (1716) ; but ere that day arrived, the intelligence of Argyle's being strongly reinforced had convinced his supporters of the hopelessness of resistance. The Pretender therefore, with the lords Mar, Melford, and some others, got aboard a French vessel at Montrose, and standing for the coast of Norway to escape the English cruisers, arrived within five days safely at Gravelines. The rebel army was disbanded at Badenoch ; the common people retired to their homes ; most of the leaders escaped to France.

The noblemen who surrendered at Preston were impeached for high-treason (Jan. 10). They all pleaded guilty except Wintoun. Derwentwater, Kenmuir, and Wintoun were beheaded ; Nithisdale escaped in women's clothes brought by his mother the night before the day appointed for his execution ; the lives of the rest were spared. Four other rebels were hanged in London, and

twenty-two at Preston and Manchester. Jacobite writers talk of the barbarities exercised by the government as akin to those of Marius and Sulla ; but surely rebellion is not to go unpunished, and it would be difficult to show one in which less blood had been shed after its suppression than this. We may remind them of Jeffreys's Campaign.

As by the act for triennial parliaments the actual one would determine in 1717, and as the ministry thought it unsafe to hazard a general election in the present unsettled state of the public mind, they resolved to bring in a bill for repealing that act and extending the duration of parliament to seven years. The measure was introduced in the lords by the duke of Devonshire (Apr. 10) on the grounds that triennial elections kept up party divisions, caused family feuds, and ruinous expense, and gave occasion to the intrigues of foreign princes. After a severe debate it passed the lords by a majority of ninety-six to sixty-one ; in the commons also the tories put forth their utmost strength ; but the final majority in its favour was two hundred and sixty-four to one hundred and twenty-one. The Septennial Bill received the high approbation of lord Somers, and it was regarded by competent judges as the foundation of the power of the house of commons. But the tories were at that time, and the democrats since are, bitter in their hostility to it. To say, as has been done, that it was unconstitutional, is absurd ; before the passing of the triennial act, parliaments sat as long as the king pleased, and it surely was competent to the legislature to repeal that act and return to the ancient course. It also seems to be supposed that the commons, like the Long Parliament, assumed an independent power and prolonged their existence by their own authority ; but they only acted as a branch of the legislature, and the bill did not even originate in their house. A dissolution would have exposed the government to the very evils which it sought to shun : necessity justified a slight departure from the strict rules of the constitution, and the ready acquiescence of the nation in the measure

testified their approval of it. It continues still to be the law : custom has made six years to be the period of a parliament ; but few last so long, and we have seen nothing in the arguments against it which hold out any advantage from a substitution of triennial or annual parliaments.

In the course of this year (Apr. 26) died John lord Somers, an able lawyer, an accomplished statesman, an incorrupt patriot. He was a clear and eloquent speaker, a cultivator of literature and a zealous patron of literary merit. In manners he was soft and gentle almost to a fault. One blemish alone tarnished the lustre of his character—an unrestrained passion for women, which terminated, as is usually the case, in the degradation of his faculties, both mental and corporeal.

The leading persons at this time in the ministry were lord Townshend, the secretary, and Walpole, now chancellor of the exchequer ; Halifax and Wharton were dead, and Nottingham had been dismissed and was gone back to the tories. Marlborough was totally without influence : his son-in-law, Sunderland, now privy-seal, was discontented ; he intrigued with the tories, he secured several leading whigs, and, to be the more certain of the overthrow of the two ministers, he paid court to the Hanoverian *Junto*.

This junto was composed of mistresses and ministers. The king's wife, the princess Sophia of Zell, was languishing in the castle of Alden, in which she had been confined, in the time of his father, on a charge of adultery, generally thought to be false. In her place George had two mistresses, the baronesses of Schulenberg and Kilmanseck. The former, whom he is said to have espoused with the left hand, was tall and thin, with little or no beauty, but she had great influence over him ; he made her duchess of Munster in Ireland, and in 1718 duchess of Kendal in England. In rapacity she was a perfect harpy, and so venal, that Walpole said she would have sold the king's honour for a shilling advance to the highest bidder. Yet she affected great religion, often appearing at several Lu-

theran chapels in the same day. The other was a young and handsome woman till she became enormously fat; the king made her countess of Leinster in Ireland, and then of Darlington in England, but she never possessed the same influence as her rival. The ministers were baron Bothmar, who had been the Hanoverian agent in England in the late reign; count Bernsdorf, on whom the king chiefly relied in foreign affairs; and Robethon, a French refugee, his French secretary, a clever intriguer.

Mistresses and ministers were alike rapacious and venal; they panted after English estates and English titles, but the Act of Settlement stood in the way, and Walpole and Townshend resisted their attempts with vigour. They therefore hated these ministers, and readily coalesced with Sunderland. This artful intriguer had also the address to detach secretary Stanhope from his friends Townshend and Walpole, and at length (1717) these ministers resigned, and a new cabinet was formed with Stanhope at its head, and Sunderland and the celebrated Joseph Addison secretaries of state. In the following year it was again modified, Sunderland becoming first lord of the treasury, and Stanhope (now an earl) and Craggs the secretaries*.

The two principal measures of the Stanhope-administration were the peerage-bill and the South-sea-bill, both of which were strenuously opposed by Walpole, the former with success.

The object of Sunderland, with whom the peerage-bill originated†, was to gratify the spleen of the king against the prince of Wales, with whom he was at enmity, by clipping the prerogative of the crown, and to increase his own influence in the house of peers by an enlargement of their power and dignity. It was proposed by this bill to limit the house of lords, after a creation of six peers, to its actual

* We may observe that, as a matter of course, the ejected ministers united with the tories and jacobites in opposition to their successors.

† Lord Mahon however, with that noble candour which distinguishes him, avows his belief that this measure, which he condemns, originated with his ancestor, earl Stanhope.

number of one hundred and seventy-eight, and to give the Scots twenty-five hereditary instead of sixteen elective members. The bill, on its first introduction into the house of lords (Mar. 2, 1719), met with a most favourable reception, its only strenuous opponent being lord Cowper. On the third reading, however, earl Stanhope deemed it advisable to withdraw it for the present, on account of the opposition to it out of doors. In the next session it was brought in again (Nov. 25), having been previously noticed in the speech from the throne. It passed in the lords of course by a large majority, as its object was to increase the power of that house, but it met a very different reception in the commons. As the whigs had been vehement in their reprehension of the abuse of the prerogative in this matter in the late reign, it seemed at first that they could not consistently oppose this limitation of it; but Walpole showed them so clearly the ill effects of it, that they agreed to resist it in the commons. On the second reading in that house (Dec. 8), Walpole rose, and thus began: "Among the Romans the temple of Fame was placed behind the temple of Virtue, to denote that there was no coming to the temple of Fame but through that of Virtue. But if this bill is passed into a law, one of the most powerful incentives to virtue would be taken away, since there would be no arriving at honour but through the winding-sheet of an old decrepit lord, or the grave of an extinct noble family." He then proceeded to expose in a masterly manner the motives of the proposers, and the ill effects likely to result from the measure; and the influence of his eloquence, together with the spirit of party, was such, that the bill was rejected by a majority of two hundred and sixty-nine to one hundred and seventy-seven, and the attempt has never been renewed. If it had passed, the house of lords would have presented the anomaly of being the only branch of the legislature without a constitutional check, and it might from factiousness or obstinacy have at times impeded the action of government. The crown has

since tended far too much toward the opposite extreme, and the strength of the house of peers has been weakened by dilution*.

The South-sea Company owed its origin to a project of Harley's in 1711 for clearing off the public debt. A large portion of this debt was funded, and the proprietors were formed into a company, who were to have the monopoly of a trade to the Spanish colonies on the coast of the South sea ; but the court of Spain refused to sanction that trade, and the only advantage which the company enjoyed was the *Asiento*. In 1720, a plan was arranged between the ministers and the directors of the company for reducing all the irredeemable annuities to a redeemable form, payment to be undertaken by the company on being assured of certain advantages. The measure was introduced in the commons by Mr. Aislachie, the chancellor of the exchequer : as the house resolved to admit of competition, the bank offered to advance to government five and a half millions, but the company was determined not to be outbid, and they agreed to give seven and a half millions. Walpole spoke in favour of the bank, and exposed the fallacy of the South-sea scheme, and, Cassandra-like, we are assured, accurately foretold the evils that would ensue if it were adopted. But the house was dazzled, and voted in its favour by a majority of more than three to one. The opposition of earl Cowper and others in the lords was equally fruitless, and the bill received the royal assent (Apr. 7).

To raise the sum to be advanced to government, the company were empowered to open books of subscription, grant annuities, etc. Forthwith every engine was set at work to delude the public ; mysterious reports were spread of secret treasures in America, where ports were to be given to the English ; and as the wealth of Peru and Mexico had always been thought inexhaustible, men were ready to believe anything respecting it. To keep up the delusion,

* The present house of lords, including the prelates and the Scottish and Irish representative peers, contains upwards of 400 members.

the directors began to devote dividends of 10, 20, nay, of 50 per cent. It was also reported that the company, by being the sole national creditor, would be able to dictate to parliament, and thus rule the country. The most uncalculating of all passions perhaps is avarice; the splendid bait was greedily swallowed. The stock which at Christmas had been at 126, rose on the opening of the first subscription (Apr. 14) to 325, and finally (Aug. 26) reached 1000 per cent.! The mania was universal; all sects and parties were smitten alike. "Exchange-alley," says Smollet, "was filled with a strange concourse of statesmen and clergymen, churchmen and dissenters, whigs and tories, physicians, lawyers, and tradesmen, and even with multitudes of females."

Other *bubbles*, as they were afterwards called, rapidly rose and danced in prismatic radiance before the public eye. There was the Welsh Copper-company, with the prince of Wales at its head; the York Building-company, with the duke of Chandos for its president, etc.; there was a company for making quicksilver malleable; one for the trade in human hair; another for importing jackasses from Spain, in order to increase the size of mules in England. The whole number of these bubbles was nearly two hundred. Any one who recollects the American mining projects in 1824, the joint-stock companies in their train, the knavery, the cupidity, the gullability then exhibited, can form some conception of the bubbles of 1720, and perhaps will doubt of the vaunted "march of intellect."

Every bubble must burst sooner or later. The directors of the grand one would have a monopoly of the public credulity; they applied for writs of *Scire facias* against the directors of the others, and thus suppressed them. But in the process they let some light in on the general bubble system, and the public awoke from its dream of fairy treasures. The stock began to decline, and so rapid was the panic, that by the end of September it was down to 150. Ruin now was widely spread; goldsmiths and

bankers who had lent money on the stock stopped payment; thousands saw themselves reduced from comfort to beggary. The Bank, at the instance of Walpole, made an effort to sustain the credit of the company; but alarmed at the magnitude of the danger, it soon drew back in dismay*.

Sunderland, unable to keep his engagements with the *junto*, had been obliged to seek a reconciliation with Townshend and Walpole. They were now again in the cabinet, and the latter was regarded as the only man who could alleviate the evil done by the South-sea bill. Accordingly, when parliament met, he introduced a bill for transferring nearly one-half of the South-sea stock to the Bank and East India company on certain conditions. This bill was passed, and by means of it and some other measures public confidence was restored.

A select committee being appointed for the purpose of inquiry, the whole tissue of iniquity was displayed. Fictitious stock to the amount of 574,000*l.* had it appeared been created and given to those who had influence to promote the bill. Among these were the two mistresses and Sunderland, Aislabie, and secretary Craggs and his father. By the exertions of Walpole, Sunderland, who had been only a dupe, and was in fact a loser to a considerable amount, was acquitted; death saved the two Craggs from the vengeance of parliament, but the estate of the father was confiscated, as also was that of Aislabie, who, with some other members, was expelled the house. The estates of sir John Blount, the original projector of the scheme, and of the other governors, directors, and officers of the company, were also confiscated, and the proceeds applied to the relief of the sufferers.

Sunderland, on account of the odium under which he lay, found it necessary to resign; earl Stanhope, in conse-

* Walpole, determined to profit by the folly he could not restrain, bought stock, and by selling when it was at 1000 gained a large sum of money. The duke of Marlborough in like manner made 100,000*l.*

quence of the warmth with which he repelled an imputation the young duke of Wharton cast on him in the house of lords, was seized with a pain in the head, and the following evening he breathed his last, lamented by the king, and honoured and regretted by the nation. The reins of government therefore again fell into the hands of Townshend and Walpole, the former becoming once more secretary with lord Carteret for his colleague*, the other first lord of the treasury (Apr. 2, 1721). Sunderland, who possessed the favour of the king, continued to intrigue against them. His death just a year after freed them from his machinations. He was an able man, but restless, insidious, proud, and overbearing.

Shortly after the death of Sunderland, his father-in-law, John duke of Marlborough, was also consigned to the tomb (June 16, 1722). This illustrious man had been in early youth placed in the licentious court of Charles II., where it was almost impossible to escape pollution; but a marriage of affection with a virtuous and beautiful woman, his subsequent fidelity to whom was never even suspected, saved him in a great measure from the effects of the tainted atmosphere. He early showed his passion for a military life, and he served with great reputation in the English auxiliary force under Turenne in 1672 and the following years. In the war of the Succession, he placed himself on a line with the greatest generals of ancient or modern times. He was nearly equally eminent as a negotiator and diplomatist. A leading trait in his character was humanity; he really cared for his soldiers, and their familiar name for him, 'Corporal John,' proved their confidence and affection. He had a due sense of religion; divine service was regularly performed in his camp, and he strongly discountenanced all licentiousness and profaneness. In

* Lord Carteret was dismissed in 1724, and was succeeded by Pelham duke of Newcastle, whose name will recur in the following pages, and who now came into office for the first time.

manners he was highly polished, and had a most perfect command of temper. As a husband, father, friend, and master, he was without reproach. Such were the laudable points of his character. On the other hand, his frugality was carried to the extent of parsimony, and his appetite for wealth was insatiable. His desertion of his patron king James and his subsequent secret correspondence with him, and treachery to the government which he was serving, are almost without excuse; yet they may perhaps find their solution in his firm adhesion to the protestant religion, combined with his attachment to the person of the exiled monarch. At all events, his conduct was not more extraordinary than that of many other eminent men at the time. The character of Marlborough displays in fine the union of talents of the highest order, with many virtues and with some of the meanest qualities of our nature.

The hopes of the jacobites had been excited by the discontent produced by the South-sea project, and they prepared to make an effort in favour of the Pretender. Secret information of their designs is said to have been given by the French regent. The plan was to be the usual one of a foreign invasion, combined with a domestic insurrection. Atterbury bishop of Rochester, the lords Orrery, North, and Grey, with several persons of inferior rank, were arrested. A barrister named Sayer was convicted of treason, and executed for having enlisted men for the Pretender. A bill of pains and penalties was passed, after a vigorous opposition, in which lord Cowper was prominent, against the bishop, and he was sentenced to be deprived of his see, and banished. The measure was no doubt harsh, and we might even add, unconstitutional; but the prelate seemed resolved to justify it, for he forthwith entered the service of the Pretender, and became a medium of communication with the disaffected in England and Scotland. Atterbury was a proud, restless, ambitious high-churchman, but he

was constant to his religion: he was a man of genius, learning and taste, the friend and patron of Pope and the wits of the day, whose eulogies have given him a reputation of which he was perhaps not altogether deserving.

The remaining years of the reign of George I. passed away in tranquillity. The chief domestic event was the impeachment (1724) of the earl of Macclesfield, lord chancellor, for selling at exorbitant rates the offices of masters-in-chancery, and for embezzling the properties of widows, orphans, and lunatics. He was convicted and sentenced to pay a fine of 30,000*l*. His successor in office was sir Peter King, the lord chief-justice, now created baron King of Ockham in Surrey*.

The ancient order of the Bath was revived at this time (1725). Walpole was one of the knights, and he henceforth styled himself sir Robert Walpole; soon after (1726) he was invested with the ribbon of the order of the garter, an honour which had been since the accession of the Stuarts reserved to the nobility. His son had already (1723) been created a baron; for Walpole declined the honour for himself, feeling his sphere to be the house of commons.

Among the events of this tranquil period may be noticed the ferment in Ireland (1723) on account of Wood's halfpence. The copper currency of that kingdom being deficient, a patent was granted to William Wood of Birmingham to furnish it with a copper coinage to the amount of 100,000*l*. Forthwith an outcry was raised; dean Swift, eager to vent his spleen on a whig government, published his well-known Drapier's Letters to excite the popular frenzy; the ruin of Ireland it was believed was menaced by the new pence and halfpence; the two houses of parliament resolved that the measure "would be prejudicial to the revenue, destructive to trade, and of dangerous consequence to the rights of the subject, etc.," and presented

* That distinguished nobleman earl Cowper, who had been twice lord-chancellor, died in 1723.

addresses to the throne against it. The affair was referred to the privy-council, who disproved all the allegations of the Irish legislature; but as Swift and the other pamphleteers still kept up the popular ferment, Wood reduced his coinage to 40,000*l.*; but even that did not suffice; the government had to recall the patent, and the senseless clamour then subsided.

The foreign transactions of this pacific reign do not offer much to interest. The acquisition for Hanover of Bremen and Verden, the property of the crown of Sweden, by purchase from the king of Denmark, caused the English monarch (1715) to join in the coalition against Charles XII., who in return prepared to aid the Pretender; but the death of the Swedish king (1717) removed all apprehension from that quarter. Mutual interest caused an alliance between the king of England and the regent of France; and when the aspiring genius of cardinal Alberoni, the prime minister of Spain, aimed at recovering the Italian dominions of the monarchy, the Quadruple Alliance was formed (1718) between England, France, the Empire, and Holland, to maintain the peace of Utrecht. Sir George Byng was in consequence sent with an English fleet into the Mediterranean, where he totally destroyed a Spanish fleet of twenty-seven sail of the line off the coast of Sicily*. For this brave action he was created viscount Torrington. At a subsequent period (1725), when the Imperial and Spanish courts had formed the treaty of Vienna, those of France and England, with Holland, Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden, to counteract its supposed secret articles, entered at Hanover into a treaty of defensive alliance for fifteen years. A British fleet under admiral Hosier was sent to blockade the galleons in the ports of Spanish America;

* Captain Walton, who was detached in pursuit of some of the enemy's ships, wrote the following despatch to the admiral:—"Sir, We have taken and destroyed all the Spanish ships and vessels which were upon the coast; the number as per margin. I am, &c. G. WALTON."

but his men perished with disease, his ships were destroyed by the worms, and Hosier himself died of chagrin or malady.

In 1727 George I. left England as usual for Hanover, whither he was in the habit of repairing every year. On the road between Delden and Osnabrück, he was seized with paralysis, and he died before he reached the latter place (June 11), in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

CHAPTER II.

GEORGE II.*

1727—1760.

Character of the king.—Ministry and parliament.—Walpole's Excise-scheme.—Murder of Porteous.—Death and character of the queen.—Anson's voyage.—Overthrow of Walpole;—his character.—The Silesian war.—Scottish rebellion.—Battle of Culloden.—Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.—Contest in America.—Seven Years' War.—Admiral Byng.—Changes of ministry.—Victories of Boscawen and Hawke.—Taking of Quebec.—Death of George II.—State of the nation.

GEORGE II. was in the forty-fifth year of his age when he ascended the throne; his character was therefore generally known and appreciated. In person he was small, but well-proportioned; he possessed a large portion of natural courage, was regular and methodical in his habits, and capable of great application to business; his temper was irascible and obstinate; his manner reserved and cold; his love of money strong. Like his father, his predilections were German, and he viewed the interests of his kingdoms as subordinate to those of his electorate. To his queen, Caroline of Anspach, a woman of very superior mind, he was devotedly attached, and deferred implicitly to her judgment; yet he was faithless to her, and the court of England continued to exhibit the spectacle of a royal mistress in the persons of Mrs. Howard created countess of Suffolk, and of lady Yarmouth†; but the king allowed them no influence whatever in affairs of state.

The accession it was calculated would be followed by a change of administration; even Bolingbroke was not with-

* Authorities: Smollet, Coxe's Lives, &c.

† This was a German lady whose name was Walmoden.

out hopes of attaining to power. The king when prince had taken offence at some expressions used by Walpole and had declared that he would never employ him, and that minister now regarded his dismissal as certain. George had actually fixed on sir Spencer Compton for his prime minister, and his obstinacy was well known; yet after all Walpole retained his post and held it for many years. For this he was indebted to the queen, who knew his abilities; she recollected that the late king had said to her that Walpole could "convert stones into gold"; Walpole also engaged to obtain from the commons an augmentation of 130,000*l.* to the civil list, and a jointure of 100,000*l.* a year for the queen; and as Compton candidly avowed his own incompetence for the situation, he king gave up his purpose. The ministry therefore remained unchanged, and Walpole, when the new parliament met, performed his engagements to the king and queen.

Walpole continued to be the moving power of government for a space of nearly fifteen years, during which period England enjoyed tranquillity. Cardinal Fleury, who governed France, was a decided lover of peace and steadily attached to the English alliance; so that though Hanover was the means of engaging England in the mazes of German politics, there was no war till toward the close of Walpole's administration, when hostilities broke out with Spain. We will therefore avert our view from foreign affairs, and confine ourselves to the leading domestic events during the first two periods of his ministry, namely, from the king's accession to the resignation of lord Townshend (1730), and thence to the death of the queen (1737).

The ministerial majority in the house of commons was considerable; but there was a strong opposition composed of three sections. These were the discontented whigs headed by William Pulteney, a man of high character and great abilities*; the tories, about one hundred and ten in

* Pulteney was of an ancient family in Leicestershire. Onslow describes

number, chiefly country gentlemen, led by sir William Wyndham; and the jacobites, who counted fifty, under the consistent and honest Shippen*. The principal supporters of the minister were his brother Horace Walpole, lord Hervey, Henry Pelham (brother to the duke of Newcastle), sir William Yonge, and Mr. Winnington. In the *Craftsman*, a periodical conducted by Bolingbroke, aided by Pulteney, the opposition had a powerful organ of offence.

Various attacks were made on the ministry on the subjects of the standing army (the great bugbear of the age) and the subsidies paid to some of the petty sovereigns of Germany; but they were always repelled by numbers if not by arguments. On the subject of pensions the minister felt his position less tenable, and he found it necessary to vary his tactics.

Those who expect to find a popular assembly like our house of commons inaccessible to corruption, may, with equal hopes of success, go in quest of the philosopher's stone, the *elixir vitæ*, or any other of the wonders by which from time to time the credulity of mankind has been abused. Human nature is ever similar to itself, and the noble-minded, the disinterested, and the honourable are always a small minority among mankind. From the Restoration, when it first became permanent, the house of commons has always contained a large portion of venality within its walls, though the phases have been different. Direct bribes in hard cash were the first and simplest course, and this continued long to prevail; pensions, which are of a similar nature, gradually came into operation; the last phase is places for self or family and friends, the newest form of which is that of the present day—the appointment of needless commissions with large salaries to commissioners.

him as a very powerful speaker, and says that he hurt Walpole more than any one who opposed him. He was very rich, and shamefully avaricious.

* These numbers are given by Coxe.

It was against the system of pensions that the opposition now directed its efforts. There were already acts incapacitating the holders of them from sitting in the house of commons; but they had proved useless, as government would not tell who had pensions, and the amount of secret-service money was considerable. Mr. Sandys therefore brought in a bill (1730), by which every member was to swear that he did not hold a pension, and that in case of his accepting one he would make it known to the house within fourteen days. This the king called a 'villanous bill;' but Walpole would not incur the odium of opposing it, and it passed the commons by a majority of ten. But, as he expected, it was thrown out in the lords, and its fate was similar whenever it was brought in again.

Shortly after the rejection of the pension-bill a partial change took place in the ministry. Lord Townshend and Walpole, though brothers-in-law, had been for some time at variance on questions of foreign and domestic policy; their tempers were opposite; the former being frank, haughty, and impetuous; the latter, cool, calm, and pliant. They have, not unaptly, been compared to Mark Antony and Augustus, lady Townshend being their Octavia. But she was now dead*; and Townshend, finding his influence inferior to that of Walpole, gave in his resignation. He retired to his paternal seat of Rainham in Norfolk, where he devoted himself to agriculture†, and abandoned politics so completely that he never even revisited the capital. The two secretaries now were the duke of Newcastle, and Stanhope, lately created earl of Harrington.

Sir Robert Walpole far outwent his contemporaries in the knowledge of the true principles of finance and trade; and having had ample information of the ruinous extent to which the practice of smuggling had been carried in con-

* She died in March 1726.

† He was the great agent in introducing the culture of turnips, which now form the basis of the Norfolk husbandry, and are said with marl to have "made the county."

sequence of the defective state of the laws of the customs, he formed a grand scheme for abolishing the land-tax, preventing fraud, increasing the revenue, simplifying the taxes and collecting them at the least possible expense. This was what was called the Excise-scheme, of which Dean Tucker, a most competent judge, asserts that the effect would have been the making "the whole island one general free-port, and a magazine and common storehouse for all nations."

Walpole's plan, which he introduced in an uncommonly able and lucid speech (Mar. 7, 1733), was in effect what is now termed the warehousing and bonding system, of the advantages of which no one can have a doubt. He confined himself to the article of tobacco; proposing that it should, when imported, be deposited in warehouses after paying a small duty, the remaining duty to be paid when the article was sold, thus converting custom into excise. Nothing, it is plain, could be more rational than this plan; yet never did a measure encounter more violent opposition. The word *excise* was odious in the ears of the people, and the Craftsman had been for some time ringing the changes on the evils and dangers of it; those engaged in the smuggling trade were numerous beyond conception; the opposition, ignorant or factious, exerted themselves to the utmost, and recurring, after a long interval, to the tactics of 1641 for getting up a 'pressure from without,' they actually employed the parish-officers to procure a large number of people to assemble about the house to overawe the supporters of the minister. Walpole furnished a handle to his opponents by giving in his speech their true name, that of *sturdy beggars*, to these supplicants, who were near tearing him to pieces as he was leaving the house.

The minister's motion for a repeal of the subsidy and additional duty on tobacco was carried by a majority of 61; but so many of his supporters were daunted by the popular clamour, that though the bill was read a first time, he resolved to abandon it. At a meeting of his party, where

the general voice was for perseverance, he said, that "in the present inflamed temper of the people, the act could not be carried into execution without an armed force; that there would be an end of the liberty of England if supplies were to be raised by the sword;" and that if they persisted, he would resign*. This declaration ended the affair; the bill was abandoned; rejoicings and illuminations took place all over the kingdom; the minister was burnt in effigy; cockades were worn inscribed with "Liberty, property, and no excise." Even the university of Oxford joined in the triumph of ignorance, prejudice, self-interest, and brute force over legislative wisdom.

As the earl of Chesterfield and several other noblemen who held posts under the crown had of late opposed the minister, he resolved to let them feel his power, and they were dismissed. Among these were lord Cobham and the duke of Bolton, whom he deprived of their regiments. The self-styled patriots took occasion forthwith to show their willingness to sacrifice the constitution to their spleen against the minister, and lord Morpeth moved for leave to bring in a bill for preventing officers above the rank of colonel from being deprived of their commissions otherwise than by judgement of court-martial or an address of either house to the throne. This was warmly opposed and defended; Walpole exposed the danger of it and displayed the *stratocracy* or military despotism to which it would lead, and its advocates did not venture to come to a division on it.

The opposition now began their assaults on the Septennial-act, which they henceforth annually renewed. On this occasion (Mar. 13, 1734), sir William Wyndham delivered his well-known philippic, which owes its fame to its personalities against Walpole and the king. The minister, in reply, drew an extemporary portrait of Bolingbroke, of

* Coxe's Life of Walpole, i. 404. Walpole's son however says (Last Years of George II., ii. 351) that "he was persuaded by his friends against his own opinion to drop it."

whom Wyndham was the puppet, and so satisfactorily answered all his arguments, that the bill was rejected.

In 1736 a remarkable tumult took place in the city of Edinburgh. A smuggler, named Wilson, was hanged in the usual place, and as the executioner was cutting him down, the populace rushed forward to get possession of the body. They assailed the city-guard with stones, whose captain, named Porteous, being struck himself, ordered his men to fire, and five of the mob were killed. For this, Porteous was tried and condemned to death; but as there was only a majority of one in the jury against him and there were extenuating circumstances in the case, a reprieve was sent down from London. The Scots, as we have often seen, are a stern, vindictive people, and it was secretly resolved to have his life. The day fixed for his execution had been the 8th of September, and at ten o'clock on the preceding evening a multitude assembled, mastered the city-guard, secured the town-gates to keep out the military, broke open the Tolbooth prison, dragged out Porteous, hung him from a dyer's pole in the Grass-market, and then silently dispersed. Rewards were offered in vain, for no discoveries were ever made.

Two events of great importance to the royal family occurred in the year 1737—a quarrel between the king and the prince of Wales, and the death of the queen.

From the Revolution down to the present day, it seems to be like a principle of the constitution that the heir to the throne should be at enmity with its possessor. The cause of this is perhaps rather to be found in human nature, and in the state of political parties, than in any peculiar moral obliquity of the house of Brunswick. The actuating cause has usually been, the prince of Wales's desire for an increase of income, the opposition assuring him that he is ill-used, and promising to aid him in obtaining it, the king happening not to be inclined to grant it. So it was in the present case: Frederick prince of Wales, who was lately married to a princess of Saxe Gotha, affecting to think

that his income of 60,000*l.* a year was not sufficient, Pulteney moved an address to the king to settle on him 100,000*l.* a year. It was opposed by the minister, but would have been carried were it not for the honourable conduct of forty-five of the tories, who, viewing it as unconstitutional, and (rare case !) preferring principle to party, quitted the house in a body before the division. The breach between the king and prince in consequence became irreparable.

On the 20th of November queen Caroline breathed her last. The cause of her death was a rupture, which false delicacy caused her to conceal till it was too late. This excellent princess, only surpassed by the matchless Elizabeth, was a pattern of all the public and private virtues. During the king's frequent absences on the continent she held the reins of government, which always were committed to her, with a firm and steady hand : sincerely religious, she attended carefully to the interests of the church, and the names of Hoadley, Clarke, Butler, Secker, and others favoured or preferred by her, speak her praise. The king was deeply affected by her death, and in her Walpole lost his main support.

The state of internal and external tranquillity which that minister made it his task to maintain, was not allowed to continue. For many years the merchants had been making complaints of the injuries done to our trade in the West Indies by the right of search for contraband goods exercised by the Spanish *Guarda-costas*, or guardships, and the cruel treatment experienced by our mariners ; in other words, that the Spanish government, whether wisely or not, exercised its undoubted rights, and that attempts were made to suppress the extensive smuggling trade which they carried on with the Spanish colonies. The opposition, glad of an occasion to embarrass the minister*, joined

* "Some years after," says Burke, "it was my fortune to converse with many of the principal actors against that minister [Walpole] and with those who principally excited that clamour. None of them, no, not one, did in the

heartily in the cry ; papers were moved for, witnesses were examined before the house, and resolutions were passed*. Various attempts were made by Walpole to settle the matter by negotiation ; at length (1739), rather than part with his power which he loved too much, he resolved to act contrary to his better judgement, and yield to the public will. War was therefore declared against Spain, an event which filled the nation with joy and exultation.

Admiral Vernon, a brave but presumptuous and self-sufficient officer, who commanded in the West Indies, with a squadron of six ships of war took, plundered, and destroyed Porto Bello (Nov. 21). His success having given a false idea of his abilities, he was selected to command an expedition on a large scale against Carthagena, having on board a body of land-forces under general Wentworth. It however proved a total failure.

A squadron, under commodore Anson, was sent to sea in September 1740, in order to attack the Spaniards in the Pacific ocean. The history of this celebrated voyage must be familiar to the minds of most persons. We need therefore only notice the dreadful ravages committed by the scurvy ; the furious tempest encountered in the straits of Le Maire, in which the Wager was wrecked, and the

least defend the measure or attempt to justify their conduct, which they as freely condemned as they would have done in commenting upon any proceeding in history in which they were totally unconcerned." A late chancellor of the exchequer being asked why he advocated a measure which he had formerly opposed, "O, I opposed it then," said he with great *naïveté*, "to embarrass the ministry." Such is the origin of much of the patriotism, public spirit and honesty, which those who are not in the secret so much admire.

* The 'Fable of Jenkins's ears,' as Burke calls it, was of great service. This was a Scottish master of a ship, who said that seven years before he was taken by a Spaniard, who beside treating him with great cruelty in other respects, cut off one of his ears and bid him carry it to his king, whom he would serve in the same way if he was there. When asked how he had acted on this occasion, Jenkins replied, "I recommended my soul to God and my cause to my country." The story produced such an effect that Pulteney declared that the very name of Jenkins would raise volunteers. Jenkins always carried his ear about him wrapt in cotton. Some however said he had lost it on a very different occasion.

Pearl and the Severn forced to return to Rio Janeiro. After a short stay at the island of Juan Fernandez to recover his men, Anson, with his two remaining ships, the Centurion and Gloucester, proceeded along the coast of Peru capturing the Spanish traders, and he took and burned the town of Paita. To capture the galleons from Manilla, he sailed with the Centurion alone (being obliged to burn the Gloucester) across the Pacific. He stopped to refresh his crew at the isle of Tinian, and then proceeded to Canton in China. He afterwards captured a galleon immensely rich, and returned to England by the Cape of Good Hope, being the first Englishman who had circumnavigated the globe since the time of Drake. He arrived on the 15th of June, 1744, after an absence of nearly four years.

The success of this unjust war (commercial wars we may observe are generally such) was not answerable to the wishes of those who had urged it on. British trade suffered from the Spanish privateers, and the French gave symptoms of an intention to share in the contest. The blame of course was thrown on the minister, and the opposition now resolved to make a strenuous effort for his overthrow. Sandys moved (Feb. 13, 1741), after a long speech, for an address to his majesty to remove him from his presence and councils for ever; Pulteney exerted all his eloquence in favour of the motion; but the minister was supported not only by his own friends but by several of the Tories who regarded the motion as tending to an inquisitorial system, and Shippen left the house at the head of thirty-four of his adherents*. After an able reply from Walpole, it was negatived by a large majority; the same was the fate of a similar motion in the lords.

* According to Coxe (i. 670), when some time before one of Shippen's friends was detected in a correspondence with the Pretender, the latter applied to Walpole to save him. The minister consented, only desiring Shippen to remember it if any measure personally hostile to him should be brought forward.

A dissolution succeeded. Walpole is said to have relaxed in his usual exertions on these occasions, while all branches of the opposition made the utmost efforts: even the Pretender wrote, directing his adherents to labour strenuously against the obnoxious minister. There was also a schism in the cabinet, many of his colleagues being his secret foes. In the new parliament the proceedings on contested elections (then, as now, decided by party-spirit rather than justice) showed the minister that his power was gone; and when that of Chippenham was decided against him (Feb. 3, 1742), he declared to the successful candidate that he would never again sit in that house. An adjournment followed; Walpole was created earl of Orford (9th), and two days after he resigned. The king accepted his resignation with tears, and never ceased to repose his confidence in him. An attempt made by a secret committee of the commons for an inquiry into his conduct, for the purpose of fixing on him a charge of corruption and peculation, failed. Lord Orford died of the stone, on the 16th of March, 1745, in the 69th year of his age.

As a minister, Walpole was prudent and safe rather than brilliant. He loved peace, and his foreign policy was most judicious for maintaining it; he was adverse to innovation, but a promoter of gradual improvement; to the commerce and revenue of the country his services were most valuable; and his wise administration produced that national vigour and prosperity which led to the dazzling greatness of a future ministry. Walpole was a staunch whig, never swerving from the principles of the revolution; he was also an honourable man; and the charges of organising and governing solely by corruption made against him are, if not false, grossly exaggerated, and at all events more the reproach of those whose selfish venality obliged the minister to have recourse to such means, than of the minister who employed them. Walpole had his faults, no doubt; like a minister of our own days for example, he

heaped places on his family, and justified his conduct in the same manner; he was, like most ministers, too much in love with office and its power and patronage; he was also extremely jealous of any ability among his colleagues, and therefore promoted only men of moderate capacity. His estimate of human nature was low, and he had a thorough contempt for mankind*. In his conversation he was gross and indelicate; and he was licentious with respect to women. He was profuse and riotous in his style of living; he collected pictures at a great expense; but he had little taste for literature, and, unfortunately for his fame, he never patronised men of letters.

The construction of the new ministry was entrusted to Pulteney, whose movements are said to have been secretly controlled by Walpole. The tories were excluded from it; it was composed of Newcastle and other members of the Walpole ministry, with lord Carteret, Sandys and a few others. For himself, Pulteney would take no office; all he required was a peerage and a seat in the cabinet; and he was created earl of Bath. But those who were disappointed became his bitter enemies; he was charged with treachery and corruption; he was lampooned in ballads; and he found himself powerless in the cabinet. He had dearly purchased his triumph over Walpole.

We may here take a view of some of the leading political characters who mark the last twenty years of the reign of George II.

Lord Carteret (who on the death of his mother became earl of Granville) was a man of genius, of high talents, of great eloquence, but he was impatient of details, and wanted discretion. Murray (afterwards lord Mansfield) was also a man of considerable talent and eloquence, with a most accurate mind and a sound judgement, but inclining a

* "All men have their price" is a saying ascribed to Walpole, but Coxe says the words he used were "all *those* men have their price," alluding to the pseudo-patriots. For some just remarks on Walpole's character, see Lord Mahon's *Hist. of England, &c.*, i. 401-9.

little to the side of power. William Pitt, the second son of a Cornish gentleman, after having been educated at Eton and Oxford, embraced a military life and obtained a cornetcy of horse; but being impeded in his profession by an hereditary gout, he devoted himself to politics, and entered parliament in 1735 as member for Old Sarum. He at once joined the opposition to Walpole, who deprived him of his cornetcy the following year*. Pitt's extraordinary eloquence made him early conspicuous. Henry Fox, also a second son, being the younger brother of lord Ilchester, was the opposite and the rival of Pitt. His eloquence, unlike that of his opponent, was embarrassed and unornamented, but his reasoning was close and vigorous, and he proved a most able debater. Charles second son of lord Townshend, and Henry second son of lord Conway, were both distinguished for talent; the former was brilliant but ambitious, restless and unsteady; the latter cool, calm, modest and amiable. Another younger son of much parliamentary talent was Legge, son of lord Dartmouth. George (afterwards lord) Lyttleton, and his cousins lord Temple and George and James Grenville†, were also men of parliamentary importance. Sir John Barnard, one of the members for the city of London, was Walpole's most formidable opponent on questions of trade. Sandys was noted for his restless propensity for making motions, whence he was named the Motion-maker. George Bubb Doddington was a man of much talent but little principle. Lord Egmont and many others were able speakers. Toward the end of the reign, alderman Beckford, of the city of London, became somewhat conspicuous; but he was not a man of a high order of abilities.

The country was now engaged in a continental war also. The Silesian war, that unprincipled attempt of Frederick II. of Prussia to rob the queen of Hungary of a part of her

* Walpole tried first to gain him. He declared that he would be glad at any rate "to muzzle that terrible young cornet."

† Pitt married a sister of the Grenvilles.

dominions, had commenced in 1741; and as, by what was termed the Pragmatic Sanction, which guaranteed the succession to all his dominions to the heirs general of the emperor Charles, the king of England was bound to supply a force of twelve thousand men, the queen now called on him to perform his engagement. A subsidy of 300,000*l.* had therefore been granted. France having joined the confederacy against the queen, a British army of sixteen thousand men, under lord Stair, was sent to co-operate with the Austrians in Flanders; and the king himself, eager for military glory, joined it in June 1743. The allied forces of forty thousand men, on their march from Aschaffenburg to Hanau, found themselves, on approaching the village of Dettingen on the banks of the Maine, fronted by a much larger French army, under marshal Noailles. Retreat also was cut off by the vigilance of the French general, and nothing seemed to remain but a surrender, when (June 26) the imprudence of the duke of Grammont, the marshal's nephew, gave them an opportunity of fighting, and the French were forced to cross the Maine, with a loss of from five to six thousand men killed, wounded and taken; that of the allies amounted to about two thousand. The king of England, though now sixty years of age, had shown in the engagement all the fire and heroism of youth.

France and England were not, properly speaking, as yet at war, but the next year they mutually declared it. In the spring of the succeeding year (1745) a numerous French army under marshal Saxe, but in which the king and dauphin were present, laid siege to Tournay. The allies, under the duke of Cumberland, son of the king of England, advanced to its relief. Though their numbers were much inferior, it was resolved to attack the French, who were posted near the village of Fontenoy. The action began at nine in the morning (April 30). The British and Hanoverian infantry advancing under a tremendous fire, drove the French beyond their lines; but the Dutch failed on the left. Some errors were committed by the English commanders; Saxe

brought up his reserve ; the English were environed ; a tremendous fire of artillery was poured on them from all parts, and the allies were obliged to retire, with the loss of ten thousand men. The French purchased their victory by a loss of men nearly equal, but they became masters of Tournay, Ghent, Bruges, Ostend, and other towns.

For many years the Pretender had been treated with neglect by the continental powers, but now the French cabinet resolved to use him as a means of alarming the court of St. James's, and perhaps causing a revolution in England, where there was abundance of discontent and very few troops. As the jacobite spirit was still vigorous in the Highlands of Scotland, it was determined to commence in that part. The Pretender himself being old and infirm, the task of contending for the British crown was committed to his son, prince Charles Edward, commonly called the Young Chevalier. He sailed from France (July 14) in a small frigate, attended by the marquess of Tullibardine and some Scottish and Irish adventurers, and reached the Western Isles, whence he passed over to the Highlands, and being joined by several of the clans, he raised his standard at Glensinnen (Aug. 19). Sir John Cope, who commanded in Scotland, having marched with his troops to Inverness, leaving the capital and the southern counties defenceless, the Chevalier made a rapid march to Perth, where his father was proclaimed king ; he then advanced to Dundee, passed the Forth near Stirling, Edinburgh opened her gates, and he took up his abode in Holyrood-house, the ancient palace of his fathers. Cope, having embarked his troops at Aberdeen, landed at Dunbar, where he was joined by two regiments of dragoons which had retired from Edinburgh. His force was now about three thousand men, and he was advancing toward the capital, when at the village of Preston-pans (Sept. 21) he was attacked early in the morning by the Chevalier, at the head of between two and three thousand of the clansmen. The rout of the king's troops was instantaneous and com-

plete: the dragoons fled, the infantry were all killed or taken; the baggage, ammunition, and artillery fell into the hands of the victors.

The Chevalier had been joined by some of the nobility, such as lords Nairn, Strathallan, Kilmarnock, Balmerino, and Pitsligo, and lords Elcho and Ogilvie, the sons of the earls of Wemys and Airlie, but they were none of them of any weight in the country. The unprincipled Simon Frazer, lord Lovat, was a man of more influence; but all the great nobility and most potent heads of clans remained faithful to the government. The presbyterians were to a man in favour of the house of Brunswick. The jacobite party in England were perfectly inactive; the kingdom in general evinced a strong feeling of loyalty; troops were recalled from Flanders; the Dutch furnished, as bound by treaty, six thousand men; the trained-bands were arrayed, and volunteer corps were formed.

The adventurer, whose forces did not exceed five thousand men, resolved to try his fortune in England. As Newcastle was occupied by general Wade, he entered it by the west border (Nov. 6). Carlisle surrendered. He pushed on rapidly, for he was assured that a French force would be landed on the south coast. At Manchester (29th) he was received with every demonstration of joy. He thence marched to Derby (Dec. 4), but here his progress terminated. He found, to his mortification, that few had joined him, that there were two armies superior to his own in his rear, and that, though he might possibly defeat the trained-bands and other troops under the royal standard on Finchley-common and enter the capital, ultimate ruin must await him. The word was given to return (6th); and, in spite of all the efforts of the royal commanders, he reached Carlisle without loss (19th). Leaving there his English adherents, he hastened to Glasgow, where he levied heavy contributions. He finally fixed his head-quarters at Perth; and, being joined by the earl of Cromarty with two thousand men, and some others, he laid siege to Stirling-castle,

General Hawley advanced from Edinburgh to its relief. At Falkirk (Jan. 17, 1746) he was attacked and routed by the insurgents, with a loss of about three hundred men. At the approach of the royal army, under the duke of Cumberland, the rebels raised the siege, and the duke advanced to Aberdeen, where he remained till April. As the enemy was at Inverness, he crossed the Spey and advanced to Nairn; learning there that the Chevalier was at Culloden, about nine miles distant, he prepared for battle. On reaching that place next day (April 16), he found the rebels, to the number of four thousand, prepared to engage his far superior force. The battle commenced at one o'clock, and in thirty minutes the rebels were driven off the field. Orders had been issued to give no quarter, yet the loss of the vanquished in killed and wounded did not exceed twelve hundred men. The victory was tarnished by a cruelty disgraceful to the duke and his cause: numbers of innocent people were put to death, or exposed to the brutality of a licentious soldiery; and when, in the next month, the duke advanced into the Highlands, the men were slaughtered, the women violated, the cattle and provisions carried off, the houses burnt, and the country converted into a desert.

The adventures of the unfortunate Chevalier were romantic and affecting. A reward of 30,000*l.* was set on his head; he was hunted through the mountains and islands; he endured every kind of privation, assumed every species of disguise; had to confide in the fidelity of people of all orders, yet not a single individual was so base as to betray him—conduct which confers lasting honour on the Highland character. At length (Sept. 20) he embarked on board a French privateer, and reached France in safety.

The earls of Kilmarnock, Balmerino, and Cromarty, and lord Lovat (that veteran in iniquity) were tried for high-treason and convicted. Cromarty was pardoned, the others were beheaded, the last instances of decapitation in England. About fifty persons (most of them officers) were executed in England, and more than double that number

in Scotland. The hopes of the exiled family were now at an end; the feelings of the British nation had been fairly tested, and their claims had been rejected. Henceforth jacobitism became merely a name only expressive of discontent with the government.

Since the resignation of Walpole the prime minister in effect had been lord Carteret (now earl of Granville), but in the end of the year 1744 he had to yield to the influence and the manœuvres of his colleagues, the duke of Newcastle and his brother, Henry Pelham. The new ministry, of which Pelham was the head, was a kind of coalition, called the Broad Bottom administration, as it included all parties, tories as well as whigs. William Pitt, already distinguished, and soon to be glorious, now took office for the first time as vice-treasurer for Ireland, and sometime after he was made paymaster of the forces. The lieutenancy of Ireland was conferred on the accomplished earl of Chesterfield; and by the manner in which he administered the government of that country he gained high and well-merited commendation.

In the year 1748, a general peace was signed at Aix-la-Chapelle; France and England remaining as they were, the house of Austria losing, the king of Prussia being the only real gainer. The English had in the preceding year sustained their naval reputation by two victories, but on each occasion they were superior in force. Admirals Anson and Warren (May 3) engaged the squadron of M. De la Jonquiere, and took, after a gallant action, all the ships of the enemy. For this service Anson was raised to the peerage, and Warren made a knight of the Bath. Admiral Hawke likewise defeated (Oct. 14) the French admiral De l'Etendur, and took six ships of the line. The order of the Bath was conferred on this gallant officer also.

A few years of peace ensued, during which England lost by death Frederick prince of Wales and the minister Mr. Pelham. The prince was in his forty-fifth year when

he died, of a pleurisy (Mar. 20, 1751), and his eldest son George, a minor, became the heir-apparent*. Mr. Pelham died in March 1754, sincerely regretted by the king and people, as an upright, honourable, and useful minister. His brother, the duke of Newcastle, a man of far inferior abilities, after the usual course of manœuvring which takes place on such occasions, assumed the guidance of the administration.

Among the bills passed under the auspices of Pelham, may be noticed that for the reformation of the calendar. This had been done in the sixteenth century by pope Gregory XIII., but the English were too zealous protestants to adopt a papal improvement, and they continued to begin the year on the 25th of March, and were always eleven days behind in their reckoning. It was now directed that the year should begin on the 1st of January, and that the day after the 2nd of September, 1752, should be called the 14th. By an act passed in 1752, the British Museum was formed; the collection of Sir Hans Sloane, the Harleian manuscripts, and the Cottonian and Westminster libraries being purchased by the nation.

The original cause of the war which ensued between France and England was the extensive designs of the French in America. The British colonies, by their charters, were granted the whole country from the Atlantic to the Pacific, but the French, who had settled on the St. Lawrence to the north, and on the Mississippi to the south of them, denied their claims, insisting that their natural boundary was the range of mountains running within one hundred and fifty or two hundred miles of the east coast; and they formed a grand plan of connecting their provinces of Canada in the north, and Louisiana in the south, by a chain of forts, and thus cutting the Eng-

* Leicester-house was the residence of the prince of Wales. From the accession of the house of Brunswick it had been the rival of St. James's, and the focus of intrigues against the court. See Doddington's *Diary* and the *Memoirs of Walpole* and lord Waldegrave for the particulars.

lish off from the great lakes, and from the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi. The remonstrances of the British government being disregarded both in America and at the Tuilleries, orders were sent out to the colonies to employ force, and an expedition under major Washington of Virginia proceeded to the Ohio, but was compelled to surrender to a superior force of French and Indians (1754).

Early in the next year (1755) general Braddock was sent out to America with a body of troops, to act against the French on the Ohio. He was joined by the provincials under Washington; but he held them in utter contempt, and would not listen to the advice of their sagacious leader respecting the mode of carrying on war in the woods of America. He moved on as heedlessly as if he was marching over the plains of Flanders or Germany, till one day at noon (July 9), when they were in the midst of the woods, the war-whoop assailed their ears, and a heavy fire was poured on their front and flank. The enemies were unseen; instead of trying to dislodge them from their covert, Braddock, as if engaged with a regular army, sought only to make his men, who were thrown into confusion, form again; at length he was mortally wounded; the regular troops then turned and fled; the provincials formed the rear, and saved them from destruction, Washington displaying the coolness and skill of a veteran commander.

During this summer the French received a check from a provincial colonel named Johnson on the shore of Lake George, but the next year they succeeded in taking Fort Oswego on Lake Ontario.

In 1756 a general war commenced. It was named the Seven Years' War from its duration, and it presented the hitherto unexampled appearance of a strict union between the houses of Bourbon and Austria, supported by Russia and Sweden. Their opponents were England and Prussia, whom community of interest united; France aiming at the

depression of the former, Austria seeking to recover Silesia from the latter.

War was formally declared against France by England in the month of May. As various acts of hostility had previously been committed, the French in *their* manifesto loudly complained of British perfidy; but France had already commenced assembling an extensive army and flotilla on her northern coast, for the invasion of England. The consternation which prevailed was extreme, and the ministry found it necessary to recur to the expedient in use for the last half century, namely, calling in the aid of foreigners, and a body of Hessian and Hanoverian troops was brought over. But while the eyes of the nation were thus fixed on the opposite side of the channel, it was ascertained that an expedition was fitting out at Toulon. Admiral Byng* was despatched forthwith (Apr. 7) to the Mediterranean, and on arriving at Gibraltar, he learned that a French fleet of thirteen sail of the line under M. De la Galissonnière, with transports carrying fifteen thousand troops, had reached Minorca, and were besieging the castle of St. Philip. Byng, when joined by the ships of Gibraltar, had a squadron equal in number to that of the enemy, but from contrary winds it took him ten days to reach Minorca. The British flag was still flying on St. Philip's castle, which was gallantly defended by general Blakeney, and next day (May 19) the French fleet was seen to the south-east. At noon on the following day, Byng, having the advantage of the wind, made the signal to engage, and admiral West, who commanded the van, closed with the enemy; but Byng, in his anxiety to preserve the line of battle according to the tactics of those times, did not support him, and the French admiral bore away toward evening and was out of sight next morning. In a council of war, it was resolved to return to Gibraltar to refit; the French fleet then resumed its station off the

* He was son of lord Torrington. See above, p. 370.

island. Blakeney finally (June 18) surrendered on most honourable terms, and Minorca was thus lost to England.

A letter of Galissonière's, communicated to the Spanish resident at London, gave the first account of Byng's action in England. Without looking beyond the Frenchman's gasconade, the ministry forthwith despatched admirals Hawke and Saunders to supersede Byng and West, and send them home under arrest. The public indignation rose to a great height, Byng was burnt in effigy in all the great towns, and his seat in Hertfordshire was attacked by a mob. When it was known that Minorca was lost, various addresses from the city of London and other places, calling for justice on the culpable, were presented to the king, and the timid ministers did all in their power to shift the odium from themselves, and place it on the unfortunate admiral*.

Byng arrived at Portsmouth on the 26th of July. He was forthwith made a close prisoner, and sent under a strong guard to the capital. He was confined in Greenwich-hospital, the brutal governor of which, admiral Townshend, shut him up in one of the garrets, with only a deal table and chair in it, and had the windows and even the chimney secured with iron bars, as if the prisoner would attempt an escape.

While Byng lay in confinement, the press was busily occupied in attacking or defending him. Dr. Samuel Johnson lent the aid of his powerful mind to the cause of the admiral, while the hireling pen of David Mallet (a writer of all work) was employed by the ministry to exasperate the public against him. A change of administration took place, but this did not affect the condition of Byng.

* The city of London was extremely vindictive toward the admiral, and their petition to the throne was highly dictatorial. It is not to be supposed that they took any pains to ascertain whether he was really culpable or not. The timid Newcastle made the king "pledge his royal word that he would save no delinquent from justice." To a deputation from the city which waited on himself, he blurted out, we are told, "Oh, indeed he shall be tried immediately, he shall be hanged directly."—Walpole, ii. 70.

He was brought before a court-martial on board the *St. George*, at Portsmouth (Dec. 28), and after a long trial it was determined that he fell under a part of the 12th Article of War, in not having done his utmost to take or destroy the ships of the enemy and assist those of his majesty. The penalty of this article was death, but the court, acquitting him of cowardice or disaffection, strongly recommended him to mercy. But, unfortunately, the lords of the admiralty, in their application to the king, instead of appealing to his mercy, stated that the court doubted the legality of the sentence (which they did not) : the case was then referred to the judges, who decided that it was legal, and the lords of the admiralty were therefore obliged to sign a warrant for his execution.

At noon on the appointed day (Mar. 14, 1757), Byng, having taken leave of his friends, came on the quarter-deck; he handed a paper to a friend, sat down on a chair, banded his own eyes, gave the signal to the marines, and dropped dead, pierced by five bullets; the whole transaction having occupied only three minutes.

The execution of admiral Byng was, to give it its proper appellation, a judicial murder; perpetrated to gratify the senseless clamour of the people excited and kept up by a timid, inefficient ministry anxious to avert blame and punishment from themselves. The man of greatest influence in the cabinet at the time when it took place no doubt was Mr. Pitt; both he and his colleagues were anxious to save the admiral, and did all in their power; but they were unable to counteract the influence of the late ministers over the mind of the king*.

We have said that Mr. Pitt was minister. In fact changes of a curious nature had of late been taking place in the administration. When in November 1755 the address was moved in reply to the king's speech, in which it was stated that he had concluded subsidiary treaties with Russia and Hesse Cassel, Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge, though

* Walpole, ii. 152. See also Waldegrave's Memoirs, p. 91.

the former was paymaster of the forces and the latter chancellor of the exchequer, both opposed it. Pitt showed the absurdity of attempting to defend Hanover at a ruinous expense, and maintained that the war ought to be solely a naval one, and he spoke in very disparaging terms of the electorate. The address however was carried, and Pitt, Legge, and George Grenville were forthwith (20th) dismissed, and James Grenville resigned. Mr. Fox, the secretary, was then almost the sole stay of the ministry, the duke of Newcastle being merely the ostensible head. But when the loss of Minorca had exasperated the nation, a change of ministry became unavoidable, and in November 1756 Pitt returned triumphantly to office as principal secretary of state; the duke of Devonshire being first lord of the treasury, and Legge chancellor of the exchequer. Still though Pitt delivered and supported a message to the house of commons, asking for supplies for the maintenance of an army in Hanover, he could not conciliate the court, and in April 1757 he was unceremoniously dismissed, Legge and the Grenvilles resigned of course, and Fox regained the ascendant. But petitions were poured in from all quarters, and the national feeling in favour of Pitt was so unequivocally manifested, that Fox would not venture to resist it. Pitt and Legge therefore resumed their stations, Newcastle became once more the nominal chief, and Fox obtained the lucrative post of paymaster of the forces (June 29). All opposition in parliament was now at an end, and Pitt had the entire conduct of the war, and thus commenced an administration one of the most brilliant in our annals*.

It almost amazes one to read in the contemporary memoirs and letters, of the degree of despondency and dejection to which the public mind had been reduced by the late untoward events of the war†. On the other hand it is

* The details of all these political manœuvres will be found in the memoirs of Walpole and Waldegrave.

† Lord Chesterfield thus describes the state of affairs at this time :—"Who-

cheering to behold the magic influence of genius and high-toned ambition and public spirit. At the voice of Pitt despondency fled and hope and zeal revived. Money was liberally contributed, for the confidence in the minister was unbounded. Expeditions were judiciously planned, and officers were selected for command from merit, and not from family or parliamentary interest, and success in consequence crowned their efforts.

This happy condition of things could not, however, be brought about all at once. It took some time to renovate and regulate the machine of war. Mr. Pitt was also too much attached to the absurd system of seeking to injure France by descents on her coasts, and his operations in this way proved utterly unsuccessful. A powerful expedition sent in September against Rochefort, under sir Edward Hawke and sir John Mordaunt, proved a total failure. The chief blame was laid on the general, but a court-martial acquitted him. In Germany, meantime, the duke of Cumberland, at the head of forty thousand Hessians, Hanoverians, and Brunswickers, being hemmed in by the French between the sea and the rivers Elbe and Weser, actually capitulated at Closter-Seven, and the electorate was thus given up to the French. In America the marquis De Montcalm, governor of Canada, had taken Fort William-Henry, on the shore of Lake George, and thus obtained the command of the entire range of the lakes.

The following year (1758) the tide of war began to turn in favour of England. Admiral Boscawen and general Amherst took the island of Cape Breton in America. On the coast of Africa the French settlements at the Senegal and

ever is in, or whoever is out, I am sure that we are undone both at home and abroad; at home by our increasing debt and expenses; abroad by our ill-luck and incapacity. The king of Prussia, the only ally we had in the world, is now I fear *hors de combat* [he had just been defeated by the Austrians at Kollin]; Hanover I look upon to be by this time in the same state with Saxony, the fatal consequence of which is but too obvious. The French are masters to do what they please in America. *We are no longer a nation; I never yet saw so dreadful a prospect.*"

Goree were also reduced. Another of those expeditions to which Mr. Pitt was so much attached was sent to the north coast of France. It landed at Concale, whence it advanced to St. Malo, where it destroyed the shipping and naval stores; but as the enemy was collecting a large force, the troops were re-embarked, and the fleet moved on to Cherbourg. A hard gale which came on prevented their landing at that place, and the expedition returned to St. Helens. These expeditions, in which the cost was great and the damage done to the enemy trifling, were not unaptly styled ‘A scheme to break windows with guineas.’

The year 1759 is one of the most glorious in the naval and military annals of England. Admiral Boscawen, who commanded in the Mediterranean, where he was blockading the port of Toulon, being obliged to retire to Gibraltar for water and repairs, the Toulon fleet under M. De la Clue came out with the hope of being able to pass the Straits. They succeeded in their object; but they were descried off the coast of Barbary; and Boscawen, though he did not hear of it till seven in the evening and most of his ships had their topmasts struck and sails unbent, by great exertions got to sea by ten that night. Next day (Aug. 10) he came up with them and took one ship, and the following day, off the bay of Lagos, he destroyed the admiral’s ship, the Ocean, and three others. Sir Edward Hawke had during the summer and autumn blockaded the port of Brest. In November (9th) a violent gale of wind having forced him to take shelter at Torbay, the French admiral M. De Conflans took the opportunity to come out; but that very day (14th) the English fleet sailed from Torbay, and admiral Hawke, on learning that the French were at sea, went in pursuit of them. On the 20th they were seen in pursuit of an English squadron which had been stationed in Quiberon-bay. The action commenced at half-past two, and in this and the following day six of the enemy’s ships were destroyed, the remainder escaping into the Vilaine and to Rochefort.

But it was in America that the greatest triumph was achieved. General Amherst having taken the field, the French abandoned the forts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, on the lakes, at his approach, and that of Niagara was taken by general Johnson. A plan had been formed for the invasion and conquest of Canada by three simultaneous expeditions which were to meet under the walls of Quebec; but Amherst thought it too late in the season to advance, and only one of them appeared before that city. This was the one from Cape Breton, the fleet being commanded by admiral Saunders, the troops by major-general Wolfe, an officer, though young, of high reputation. It reached its destination on the 26th of June, but found the French army so advantageously posted that success seemed very dubious.

The city of Quebec stands on and at the foot of a lofty rock, which runs parallel to the river St. Lawrence; behind it is the river St. Charles, between which and that of Montmorenci, his rear defended by dense woods, Montcalm lay encamped with ten thousand men.

An attack on the French camp having failed (July 31), the English lay for some time inactive, and the mind of their gallant general was deeply depressed. At length he formed the daring project of scaling the Heights of Abraham (as the rocky plain on which the city stands is named) at its further extremity. The troops were therefore landed in the night (Sept. 12), and by the aid of the projecting rocks and trees they attained the summit, and when daylight came they formed in line of battle (13th). Montcalm instantly led back his troops to the defence of the town, and a smart engagement ensued. In the action both the generals were mortally wounded. Wolfe, as he lay expiring, hearing the cry of "They fly, they fly!" asked, "Who fly?" On being told the French, "Then," said he, "I depart content," and expired. Quebec surrendered, and in the following year Montreal capitulated to general Amherst, and the conquest of Canada was thus completed.

In this year also was fought (Aug. 1) the great battle of Minden, in which the English infantry covered themselves with glory, while the blame of the victory's not being more complete was laid on the inactivity of lord George Sackville who commanded the cavalry of the right wing. By sentence of a court-martial in the following year this officer was dismissed the service, and his name was struck out of the list of privy-councillors.

The British arms were also successful at this time in India. Of the events in that country we shall presently have occasion to treat consecutively.

On the 25th of October, 1760, George II. died suddenly of an apoplectic fit at the palace of Kensington, in the 77th year of his age. He was succeeded by his grandson of the same name.

The half-century during which the throne was filled by the two first monarchs of the house of Brunswick forms a peculiar period in the history of England. The sovereigns were foreigners in birth, feeling, habits and education. All their predilections were for their petty German principality, to whose interests they would at any time sacrifice those of their kingdoms without scruple. To flatter their German prejudices was the sure road to their favour, and hence ministers were found to waste the blood and treasure of England needlessly, if not perniciously. The un-English character of the monarchs also contributed to keep up the party named Jacobites, who in reality cared but little for the exiled Stuarts, but used their name and cause as the mask of their dissatisfaction with the reigning house and its principles of government.

The conduct of the tory party in the four last years of queen Anne, had naturally had the effect of throwing the government, under the new line, entirely into the hands of the whigs. A powerful whig oligarchy ruled the king and country, jealously excluding the members of the opposite

party from even the lowest offices in the state and magistracy. Hitherto the sovereign had been able to select ministers at his will, without regard to parliamentary influence, and that power we have seen exercised even by queen Anne. But under the two Georges this branch of prerogative was lost, and a man so destitute of real talent and legitimate influence, as the duke of Newcastle, could by means of numerous allies and dependents in parliament dictate to the monarch, and force him to employ the objects of his personal aversion.

The altered tenour of the constitution, and the increasing opulence, and consequent ambition of the mercantile portion of the middle class gave origin to the practice of purchasing seats in the house of commons. It may be that the maxims of trade had their influence, and that a man thought he was justified in selling what he had bought; but it is an undoubted fact, that at this period constituencies and members were equally venal, and that numbers of the latter even sold what they had never purchased. The government now also possessed the means of gratifying the needy or the corrupt, to a greater extent than at any former period. Exclusive of the large annual charge for secret service money*, the number of places in the church, the army, navy, revenue and other branches of the public service of which they had the disposal, formed a large fund for the requital of support in parliament or at elections. The public press, the great organ for the repression of abuses, had not yet attained to the power of watching over and criticising the acts of government; for pamphlets, though they swarmed at that time, had nothing like the

* The management of the secret service money was always a bone of contention among the ministers. In 1755, when Fox was to be secretary and leader in the house of commons, he required to have it, or at least to know how it was disposed of, as otherwise he should not "know how to talk to members of parliament, when some might have received *gratifications*, others not." Walpole, i. 332. Or as Doddington (Diary, Mar. 15, 1754,) expresses it, "to enable him to speak to the members without being ridiculous."

extensive circulation, and consequent influence of the newspapers of the present day.

When this state of things is calmly considered, it savours of injustice, to our apprehension, to charge the whig rulers of those days with the guilt of having organised a regular system of government by corruption. It was their lot to hold the reins of power at a time when political morality was in so low a state, that men would not do their duty for nothing, but must be bribed to support the interests and institutions of their country. Their rivals have never scrupled to tread in their foot-prints ; and we fear that a popular government without corruption is a phenomenon not to be expected while human nature remains unchanged.

The Riot Act was passed in the first year of George I., and many other enactments, apparently restrictive of liberty, take their date from this period. They are chiefly connected with the revenue, and indicate an ignorance of the true principles of trade, rather than a love of despotism, in their authors.

In the reign of queen Anne newspapers had begun to be employed as the organs of political parties. They were not however as yet allowed to publish the debates of the legislature, which were only to be found in the pages of the Gentleman's and other magazines, where they appeared under the form of debates in the Roman senate, or with the initial and final letters of the speaker's name prefixed to his speech.

Perhaps there is no period in our history, during which a greater degree of general comfort and happiness prevailed among the people, than the one under consideration. No doubt there are at present numerous conveniences which were then unknown, but which were also unmissed. Travelling, for example, had neither the rapidity nor the security of the present day ; the police was bad, highway and street robbery were common, at the same time swindling and other indirect modes of depriving persons of their pro-

perty seem to have been less prevalent. But the great difference lay in the command which the daily wages of the labourer had over the means of subsistence, which was greater at this than at any antecedent or subsequent period of our history*. The consequence was, as above said, that a general degree of comfort and moderate affluence prevailed, ill, perhaps, exchanged for the glare and glitter of our modern style of living.

Manners, among the upper ranks, were more stately than that at the present day, but those of all classes were much less refined. Gaming in private prevailed to a great extent, and female education was much neglected. As the intercourse with the capital was very limited, the country squires were rude and coarse in their habits, and unpolished, rough and boisterous in their manners; and there was a degree of petty tyranny exercised by them and by justices of the peace such as would not now be tolerated. It may be here observed, that as gaols continued in the state above described, the very act of confinement was an infliction of much positive suffering. With all drawbacks, however, the condition of England at that time was prosperous†.

The rise of the religious sect of the Methodists may be placed among the events of this period. It is remarkable, that its first seat was the University of Oxford. John

* From the year 1720 to 1750 the wages of a day's labour could purchase a peck of wheat. "This great increase of command over the first necessary of life did not, however, produce a proportionate increase of population. It found the people of this country living under a good government and enjoying all the advantages of civil and political liberty in an unusual degree. The lower classes of the people had been in the habit of being respected both by the laws and by the higher orders of their fellow-citizens, and had learned, in consequence, to respect themselves. The result was, that their increased corn-wages, instead of occasioning an increase of population, exclusively, was so expended as to occasion a decided elevation in the standard of their comforts and conveniences."—Malthus's *Principles of Political Economy*, 2nd edit., p. 222.

† Fielding's novels give the most faithful picture of the manners of the reign of George II. Those of Smollet are less to be depended on, as, beside their exaggeration, the author was not an Englishman, and was only acquainted with London.

Wesley, its founder, was the son of a clergyman ; he and other young men of a pious turn used to meet together for the purpose of religious exercises, and the name of Methodists (in which they acquiesced) was first given them in derision. When Wesley was ordained, he devoted his efforts chiefly to the religious melioration of the poor, and when refused the use of the pulpit, he preached in the open air ; and he gradually organised his followers into a well-arranged society. Whitfield, one of his principal fellow-labourers, differing from him on the point of predestination, the Methodists early divided into two parties. It was Wesley's wish that his people should adhere to the church ; but the intolerance of the clergy on the one hand, and the pride of human nature in the Methodists and their preachers, on the other, have caused a separation. Unlike, however, the dissenters in general, they have no hostility to the church, and they form at present a numerous and highly respectable portion of the community, distinguished for their attachment to the constitution in its present form. The rise of the sect of the Methodists was eminently conducive to the interests of religion ; for they awoke the established clergy from the slumber into which they had fallen, when relieved from the alarm of popery, and the church has, in consequence, become more efficient and useful*.

* Sir George Saville used to say, that the Methodists were a blistering plaster on the backs of the established clergy.

CHAPTER III.

GEORGE III.*

1760—1784.

Accession of George III.—Resignation of Mr. Pitt.—Capture of the Havanna and Manilla.—Peace of Fontainebleau.—Change of ministry.—John Wilkes.—Public writers.—Dispute with the American colonies.—American war.—Change of ministry.—Rodney's victory.—Attack on Gibraltar.—Coalition-ministry.

MANY circumstances conspired to give happy presages for the reign of the new monarch. The fame of the nation never stood so high; all danger from intestine commotion was at an end, the spirit of jacobitism being totally extinct; the king himself, now in his twenty-third year, was English by birth and education, had never been out of the country, and had therefore no German predilections. He was affable and polished in manners, and virtuous and sincerely pious in sentiments; but by his mother and by lord Bute, a Scottish nobleman who had been placed about him, rather high notions of prerogative had been instilled into his mind, which was narrow and little cultivated, and in temper he was sullen and obstinate†.

The young king met his parliament on the 18th of November. In his speech from the throne he declared his resolution of continuing the war, and called on them to aid him in prosecuting it. The addresses were dutiful and warlike. A civil list of 800,000*l.* a year was granted, the king allowing parliament to regulate the hereditary revenues of

* Authorities: Annual Register, Adolphus's, Aikin's, Belsham's and other histories, &c.

† See his character in Waldegrave's Memoirs.

the crown. When the parliament was prorogued preparatory to its dissolution* (Mar. 19, 1761), a partial change took place in the ministry, the earl of Bute becoming secretary of state in place of lord Holderness, a selfish, worthless man, who received a pension and the reversion of a lucrative place for his resignation. Mr. Legge was dismissed, and sir Francis Dashwood, a tory, made chancellor of the exchequer in his place. It was the secret intention of the court gradually to form a tory administration with lord Bute at its head. For this, among other reasons, peace was desired, as Mr. Pitt, who was the great object of apprehension, could not well be removed while the war lasted.

The war however was still prosecuted, and an expedition under commodore Keppel and general Hodgson succeeded in taking the isle of Belleisle on the coast of Brittany (June 7). The island of Dominica in the West-Indies was also reduced.

France had hitherto been a great sufferer by the war; for she made no progress in Germany, she had lost her colonies, and her commerce had nearly been destroyed. She was therefore anxious for a peace with England, and a treaty for that purpose was entered on; but as she required that England should abandon the king of Prussia and make certain concessions to Spain, Mr. Pitt spurned at the proposals. A treaty, named the Family Compact, had been secretly arranged between the courts of Versailles and Madrid, where Charles III. (late king of Naples, and the ablest monarch that Spain has possessed since the days of Philip II.) now reigned. It was signed at this time; and Mr. Pitt, who, it is said, had procured secret information of its contents, which were hostile to England, proposed in the council to recall our ambassador from Madrid and to

* During this session, at the royal recommendation, the clause of the Act of Settlement (above, p. 309) for continuing the judges during their good behaviour was extended, as by it they were liable to be removed on the demise of the crown. Henceforth they have held their office for life, *dum bene se gesserint*, unaffected by that event.

send a fleet to intercept the Spanish galleons; but the majority of the council rejected the measure, affecting to regard it as contrary to good policy and to justice and honour. Finding he could not prevail on them, the haughty minister exclaimed, "I was called to the administration by the voice of the people; to them I have always considered myself accountable for my conduct; and therefore I cannot remain in a situation which makes me responsible for measures I am no longer allowed to guide." Lord Granville, the president of the council, made a dignified and sensible reply. The secretary repaired to St. James's (Oct. 5) and delivered the seals to the king, who calmly received them, expressing his agreement with the sentiments of the majority of the council, but offering Mr. Pitt any rewards in the power of the crown to bestow. The minister was affected; "I confess, sir," said he, "I had but too much reason to expect your majesty's displeasure. I did not come prepared for this exceeding goodness. Pardon me, sir; it overpowers—it oppresses me." He burst into tears.

Mr. Pitt accepted a pension of 3000*l.* a year for three lives and a peerage for his wife and her issue. His successor in office was lord Egremont, son of the celebrated sir William Wyndham. His brother-in-law, lord Temple, retired with him*.

In the autumn of this year the marriage of the king with the princess Charlotte of Mecklenburg Strelitz took place (Sept. 8). Shortly after (22nd), the splendid ceremony of the coronation was performed with all due magnificence. As both the king and queen were highly moral and decorous in their sentiments and conduct, the court now assumed an aspect of propriety suited to that of a serious and religious nation.

The new minister, however anxious for peace, found it necessary to continue the war with vigour. As the intentions of Spain were no longer concealed, war was formally

* See Appendix (H).

declared against that power (Jan. 4, 1762). A new change in the British cabinet took place in the following month of May; the duke of Newcastle resigned, and lord Bute now occupied the post of which he was so covetous, but for which he was utterly unfit, and became the prime minister. The duke of Newcastle, whose fidgety temper, vanity, jealousy, meanness of spirit, and disregard of promises were the general topics of ridicule, had, by his great wealth, his command of votes in the commons, a certain degree of talent of his own, and the far superior abilities of his late brother, maintained himself in office with little interruption since the year 1724. He now retired with some dignity; for though he had greatly injured his private property by his zeal for the house of Brunswick, as it was termed*, he refused a pension when offered, saying, that "if he could be no longer permitted to serve his country, he was at least determined not to be a burden to it."

With that nice regard to morality of which crowned heads and statesmen have given so many examples, the courts of France and Spain called on the king of Portugal to break through all the ties of gratitude, honour, and interest, and join in the confederacy against England. On his refusal, they both declared war against him, and their troops invaded his kingdom at three several points. The king called on England for aid, which was promptly afforded. English troops were sent to Portugal, where the supreme command was given to the count De la Lippe-Buckeburg, a German prince of high military character, and the invaders were speedily obliged to recross the frontiers.

An expedition of considerable magnitude, under lord Albemarle and admiral Pocock, had sailed from Ports-

* That is, giving things their right names, spent in the gratification of his own ambition; for so such expressions are to be understood when applied to statesmen. Walpole says (ii. 105) that he had sunk "his enormous estate from 30,000*l.* to 13,000*l.* a year by every ostentatious vanity, and on every womanish panic between cooks, mobs, and apothecaries."

mouth on the 5th of March. Its object was to give a heavy blow to the Spanish commerce; its destination was the Havanna, in the isle of Cuba, which it reached on the 5th of June. Many difficulties, from climate and from the number of the garrison, the strength of their defences, and the gallantry of their resistance, impeded the operations of the besiegers; but the abilities of the commanders, seconded by the indomitable spirit and courage of their men, overcame them all, and the town at length surrendered (Aug. 14). The loss to Spain was fourteen sail of the line and four frigates taken or destroyed in the harbour, and treasure and merchandise to the amount of three millions sterling. This was perhaps the greatest and richest conquest ever made by the British arms. It was not, however, the only loss sustained by Spain. An expedition from Madras in India, under admiral Cornish and sir William Draper, took Manilla, the capital of the Philippine islands. All the public property was given up to the English, and a ransom of four millions of dollars was agreed to be paid for the private property. Two ships of the British squadron then intercepted and took the Santissima Trinidad, a ship from Acapulco with a cargo worth three millions of dollars. To add to the misfortunes of Spain, the Santa Hermione, from Peru, with treasure on board to the amount of a million sterling, was captured off Cape St. Vincent.

The losses of France this year were the islands of Martinique, Grenada, St. Lucia, Tobago, and St. Vincent, in the West Indies.

These brilliant successes almost turned the head of the nation; visions of glory and wealth floated before the public eye; and the mercantile interest, always selfish (what interest is not?), clamoured loudly for continuing a war by which they were great gainers. The ministry, however, were not so dazzled; they saw that all the objects of the war were gained, the pride of the house of Bourbon was humbled, the king of Prussia was secured; at the

same time the expense to England had been, and would be, enormous. The overtures of France for peace were therefore readily listened to; and both parties being in earnest, the preliminaries were readily settled at Fontainebleau (Nov. 3). In spite of the declamation of Mr. Pitt and his party, they were approved of by large majorities in both houses of parliament, and a treaty was finally signed at Paris (Feb. 10, 1763).

By this treaty, England was to retain all Canada with Cape Breton and the other islands in the gulf of St. Lawrence, and Louisiana eastward of the Mississippi; in the West-Indies, Dominica, St. Vincent's, and Tobago; in Africa, Senegal. She was to receive back Minorca in exchange for Belleisle, and was secured divers advantages in India. Spain ceded to her the two Floridas, gave up all claim to fish on the banks of Newfoundland, and allowed the English to cut logwood on the coast of Honduras. England restored all her other conquests.

England has never concluded a more honourable peace than this, and lord Bute was justified in declaring that "he wished no other epitaph to be inscribed on his tomb than that he was the adviser of it." Mr. Pitt, who, great as he undoubtedly was, had too violent a lust for war, condemned it; the selfish king of Prussia exclaimed against it, as if England were bound to waste her blood and treasure for *his* aggrandisement; but history pronounces the Peace of Fontainebleau an honourable termination of a war which had added seventy-five millions to the national debt of Great Britain.

Soon after the conclusion of the peace, lord Bute retired from office. He was never popular; his manners were cold and repulsive; his partiality for his countrymen, the Scots, was extreme; and the outcry against the peace was general. The passing of a bill for an excise on cider raised the clamour to its height. He therefore resigned a post for which he felt himself unsuited, alleging his prefer-

ence for domestic life and literary retirement*. A new ministry, with Mr. George Grenville at its head, was formed. Sir F. Dashwood and Mr. Fox were called to the upper house, the former as lord Le Despenser, the latter as lord Holland.

The Grenville administration was unpopular, and it held its power only two years. The dispute with the demagogue Wilkes, which we shall presently relate, and the commencement of that with the American colonies, are the events which most signalise it. In 1765, the duke of Cumberland organised a new ministry on whig principles, with the marquess of Rockingham at its head. But the duke died that very year (Oct. 21); the cabinet was feeble and disunited; it had not the support of the people, and it soon lost the favour of the king. The following year (July 12), his majesty, by the advice of the chancellor lord Northington, empowered Mr. Pitt to form a ministry.

This great statesman proposed to place lord Temple at the head of the cabinet, but to retain the appointment of all the members of it in his own hands. Lord Temple spurned at such limited power; and Mr. Pitt, baffled in all his attempts to induce influential men to join him, hastily patched up a motley cabinet, which was ingeniously compared by Mr. Burke to an inlaid cabinet, or a tessellated pavement, with "here a bit of black stone, and there a bit of white; patriots and courtiers; king's friends and republicans; whigs and tories; treacherous friends and open enemies." The duke of Grafton was placed at the head of

* There was a general suspicion that he still in secret influenced the royal mind, but this opinion was quite erroneous. It is a fact of which we apprehend there can be very little doubt, that an illicit intercourse had long subsisted between the princess-dowager of Wales and lord Bute. To say nothing of Horace Walpole, lord Waldegrave, who had the best means of knowing the truth, alludes to it more than once in his *Memoirs*, and it would appear from them that the late king was aware of it. The young monarch had lately come to the knowledge of his mother's dishonour, and his virtuous mind shrank from all communication with her paramour.

the treasury, Mr. Charles Townshend was chancellor of the exchequer, the earl of Shelburne and general Conway were the secretaries, lord Camden was chancellor. For himself, on account of his ill health, Mr. Pitt selected the privy seal, and he was raised to the peerage by the title of earl of Chatham. By accepting a title he injured his popularity, and at length finding that he could not rule despotically in the cabinet, and that measures of which he disapproved were adopted in his absence, he sent in his resignation (1768), and bade a final adieu to office. In the beginning of the year 1770, the duke of Grafton laid down his power, and lord North, eldest son of the earl of Guilford, who had been chancellor of the exchequer, was appointed his successor; and the administration of this nobleman lasted for twelve years of the most eventful in English history.

When the Grenville administration was formed, a tremendous fire was opened on it from the press. The most destructive battery was a periodical named the North Briton, conducted by John Wilkes, esq., member for Aylesbury, a man of considerable talent, but profligate in character and ruined in fortune. He was, like almost every demagogue, strongly aristocratic in feeling; but being refused a lucrative post, he took up the trade of patriotism, and commenced a series of attacks on the persons and measures of the ministers. Of these they took no notice, till in the XLVth number of his paper he assailed the speech from the throne (Apr. 19, 1763), accusing the king of having uttered direct falsehoods. A *general warrant* was issued from the office of the secretary of state to seize the authors, printers, and publishers of the North Briton, and their papers, and bring them before the secretary. Wilkes was accordingly taken and committed to the Tower. On his application to the court of common pleas for a writ of *Habeas-corpus*, it was granted, and chief-justice Pratt having decided that his privilege of parliament (which can only be forfeited by treason, felony, or breach of the peace) had been violated, he was discharged. The attorney-ge-

neral then commenced proceedings against him for a libel, and Wilkes, now the idol of the mob, took every mode of courting prosecution. The ministers, instead of leaving the courts of law to deal with him, unwisely brought the matter before the house of commons, by whom No. XLV. of the North Briton was voted to be a false, scandalous, and seditious libel against the king and both houses, and was ordered to be burned by the common hangman. At the same time, as Wilkes had printed at a press in his own house a poem called an *Essay on Woman*, in which impiety contended with obscenity, and had affixed to the notes on it the name of bishop Warburton, it was voted in the house of lords to address his majesty to order a prosecution against Mr. Wilkes for breach of privilege and for blasphemy. It was very injudiciously arranged that the mover should be lord Sandwich, a man, whose own private character was anything but immaculate.

The question of privilege was then taken up in the house of commons; and in spite of the eloquence of Mr. Pitt, and in the face of the decision of the court of common pleas, it was decided by a large majority that privilege of parliament does not extend to the case of writers and publishers of seditious libels. With this decision the house of lords concurred after a long debate.

A riot took place when the attempt was made to burn the North Briton; and when several of the persons who had been arrested brought actions against the messengers, juries gave them damages: Wilkes himself brought actions against the two secretaries of state, and against Mr. Wood, the under-secretary, and he obtained a verdict against the latter for 1000*l.* and costs. On this occasion chief-justice Pratt pronounced the general warrant to be illegal, and a similar decision by lord Mansfield, the chief-justice of the king's bench, set the question at rest.

Wilkes was expelled the house; he was tried and convicted for publishing No. XLV. and the *Essay on Woman*; and as he did not appear in court to receive sentence, he

was outlawed. He remained in France, whither he had fled, till the duke of Grafton came into office (1768), when a fawning application which he made to that nobleman being treated with silent contempt, he boldly came over on the eve of an election, and stood for the city of London. He was of course the favourite of the rabble; but prone as that constituency generally is to favour demagogues, he was rejected. The ministers, instead of trying to disarm him by clemency, or of crushing him at once by putting his sentence into execution, rested content with his letters to the law-officers of the treasury pledging his honour to appear in the court of king's bench. He forthwith stood for Middlesex; and the electors there being chiefly of the lowest class, he was chosen by a large majority. When he surrendered himself, he was committed to the king's bench prison; meantime the city was kept in a constant state of terror by the riots of his partisans. It was his boast that he could "halloo the rabble like so many bull-dogs" to any purpose he pleased, by the use of the words 'liberty,' 'arbitrary power,' and similar magic terms.

The court of king's bench reversed Wilkes's sentence of outlawry on account of some irregularity in it, but the two verdicts against him were confirmed, and he was condemned to pay two fines of 500*l.* and be imprisoned for two years. Subscriptions were forthwith raised among his admirers to pay his debts; he received abundance of presents; and his face, which was remarkable for its ugliness, became the ornament of numerous signboards. The demagogue soon after, having got hold of a letter from lord Weymouth, the secretary, to the Surrey magistrates, approving of their conduct in putting down a riot in St. George's-fields, in which some lives were lost, published it with a preface, calling that affair in the true demagogic style "a horrid massacre, and the consequence of a hellish project deliberately planned;" and as at the bar of the house he claimed the thanks of his country for having set "that bloody scroll"

in a proper light, he was expelled the house, and a new writ was ordered for Middlesex.

Every artifice for inflaming the populace was put in requisition, and Wilkes was re-elected; but the house declared him incapable of sitting during that parliament. He was returned again, and again his election was declared to be void. He stood once more, and colonel Luttrell who opposed him was pronounced to be duly elected, though Wilkes had an immense majority of the votes. The needy patriot had already been relieved by a subscription; and the citizens of London, honouring the mere names of liberty and patriotism in one who disgraced them both, with that absence of real political wisdom characteristic of such bodies, elected him to the dignity of alderman. A political club, named the 'Society for supporting the Bill of Rights,' of which he was a principal member, was formed in 1770, but it was soon discovered that a great part of the funds had been diverted to the payment of the patriot's debts and to the purchase of an annuity for him. The democratic party, however, still adhered to him; he was lord-mayor in due course, and finally obtained the great object of his ambition, the lucrative post of city-chamberlain.

A rival of Wilkes in the trade of patriotism, but a less fortunate adventurer, was the reverend John Horne. This man had entered the church, it would appear, merely as a profession, and without even a belief in its doctrines; but finding it not to answer his expectations, he abandoned it. A man who has been a teacher of religion, and who from scruples of conscience has retired from the sacred profession, should, in our opinion, select some pursuit, medicine for instance, which would harmonise in some measure with that which he had abandoned, if it were only to evince his having acted from pure motives. But Horne had none of this delicacy of feeling; he was ambitious of turbulent distinction; he aimed at being a lawyer and a member of parliament. He ran a career of vice and sedition; was

familiar with the walls of prisons, and died a dependent on the bounty of his friends.

It was also at this time that that most powerful but most unscrupulous of political satirists who subscribed 'Junius' to his letters, attacked the king and his ministers in the most envenomed style. His letters now form a portion of our literature, and are models in their class of compositions. His secret was never divulged, and ingenuity has long been exercised in the attempt to discover the real author. Lord George Germaine and sir Philip Francis are those in whose cases the strongest apparent proofs have been given. Lord Chatham, Edmund Burke, and other persons have been on various grounds suspected of the authorship.

At this period, too, Edmund Burke, a native of Ireland, the most profound and philosophic of statesmen, commenced his legislative career, being brought into parliament by lord Rockingham, to whom he was private secretary. As an orator Burke was somewhat ungraceful in manner, and his language was too frequently coarse and virulent; but his speeches teemed with political wisdom, and sparkled with the gems of a rich imagination; and at the present day, when the argumentative or impassioned harangues of his great contemporaries are only subjects of curiosity, those of Burke are studied, like the writings of Aristotle and Machiavel, as depositories of political wisdom and enlarged philosophy.

The names of general Conway, colonel Barré, sir George Saville, Mr. Dunning, and others appear as able debaters at this time. Charles James Fox, second son of lord Holland, was made a lord of the admiralty in the North administration, and afterwards (1772) a lord of the treasury; but having opposed the sentiments of lord North, he was dismissed, and he forthwith joined the ranks of the opposition (1774).

It is now our task to narrate an event hitherto nearly unexampled in the annals of the world;—an event, which every one in whose veins British blood circulates, if not

divested of kindly feeling, must deplore;—not that in itself it is to be regretted, for it has proved advantageous to both parties; but it is to be lamented that it should have occurred in the manner it did; that a protracted war, and not a friendly and voluntary dissolution of the ties which bound them, should have disunited the parent and the child, now grown to maturity and vigour. But such a wise and generous proceeding is, we fear, incompatible with human nature; and power is never resigned as long as it can be retained. The event of which we speak is the war between England and her American colonies.

The names of these colonies are now so familiar to every person, that we hardly need enumerate them. Virginia was planted in the reign of Elizabeth; Maryland, soon after; New England, by the puritans, in that of Charles I.; the Carolinas and Pennsylvania in those of his sons; and Georgia since the accession of the present royal family. All these colonies had charters from the crown, empowering them to hold legislative assemblies, elect officers, and levy taxes for domestic purposes. Their governors were sent out from England, and the mother-country enjoyed the monopoly of their trade. Being masters of a rich and boundless soil, and aided by large emigrations, the colonies increased rapidly in population, and they had attained to the number of three millions when dissension arose between them and the mother-country.

When sir Robert Walpole was foiled in his project of an excise on tobacco, the governor of Virginia proposed to him to lay a tax on the American colonies; but that able statesman shrewdly replied, "You see I have Old England against me already; do you think that I can wish to set New England against me too?" and the plan was thought of no more. Now, however, the king himself, or those by whom he was secretly actuated, revived it; and his majesty proposed it to Mr. Grenville in 1764, and, on his hesitation, gave him the option of resignation or bringing it forward in parliament. The minister then promised

compliance; and a resolution was proposed by him, which passed the commons, that it would be expedient to impose certain STAMP-duties on the colonies, for the sake of raising a revenue. He postponed the bill for this measure till the next session, in order to give the colonies an opportunity of petitioning against it if they thought fit, or of offering an equivalent.

The colonists protested in the strongest terms against the claim of the British parliament to impose taxes on those who were not represented in it. When it was urged that America should contribute her share to the general burdens of the empire, and that the late expensive war had been entered into chiefly on her account, they replied, that she never had been backward, and that in the last war her exertions had been so far beyond her means, that various sums, amounting in the whole to nearly two millions, had been voted by parliament to the several colonies to indemnify them, and that they were still in debt to about the same amount. They added, that the monopoly of their trade, her right to regulate which they did not deny, was the proper compensation to the mother-country. These arguments, however, were of no effect; the Stamp-act, though strongly opposed by general Conway and colonel Barré, who were well acquainted with the temper and condition of the colonies, was passed by both houses (March 22, 1765). Its arrival in America caused commotions in the principal towns and spread discontent through the colonies. A general congress met at New York to draw up petitions; resolutions were entered into not to use stamps, or to import goods from England; it was even resolved to stop exports as well as imports; and a society was formed for the encouragement of native manufactures.

The Rockingham administration repealed the stamp-act (1766); but by a declaratory bill the right to tax the colonies was asserted. The southern colonists in general were now content; but the people of New England, who appear to have been long resolved on independence, still

murmured. In 1767 a bill was passed for laying duties on glass, tea, paper, and painters' colours, imported into America; these, however, were all taken off (1770) except that on tea. But when the East India company sent their ships with teas to the ports of America (1773), they were not allowed to land their cargoes; and at Boston, a party of men, disguised as Mohawk Indians, went on board of them, broke open the chests, and flung their contents into the sea. When intelligence of this violent proceeding reached England (1774) the legislature passed bills for closing the port of Boston and for better regulating the government of Massachusetts-bay. The people of that state forthwith entered into a Solemn League and Covenant to suspend all intercourse with Great Britain till those acts should be repealed. The collecting of arms and stores, and the military training of the young men, which had been already commenced, now went on with redoubled activity. At length (Sept. 5) the celebrated congress of deputies from all the provinces met at Philadelphia. They drew up a petition to the king, addresses to the people of England and the Canadians, and a declaration approving of the conduct of the people of Massachusetts.

Every clear-sighted statesman must have been long aware that there was in reality no alternative between war and the acknowledgement of American independence. Lord North very properly resolved to take the sense of the nation by a dissolution of the parliament, and the returns proved that the great body of the people were resolved not to part with the supremacy over the colonies without a struggle. Mr. Burke in vain brought forward (Mar. 22, 1775), and enforced with all the splendour of his eloquence, his thirteen articles for restoring tranquillity. The die was cast, and ere these articles could cross the Atlantic hostilities had commenced.

On the 19th of April, general Gage, who commanded at Boston, learning that the provincials had collected a quantity of stores at the town of Concord, sent a detachment

of his troops to seize them. At a place named Lexington, on the way, they found the militia drawn up to oppose them; they drove them off, and proceeded to Concord, where they accomplished their object; but on their way back they were greatly galled by the fire of the Americans from houses and from behind walls and hedges. They had sixty-five men killed and one hundred and eighty wounded; the provincials fifty killed and thirty-eight wounded. Soon after the militia assembled to the number of twenty thousand at Cambridge, and blockaded Boston. On the night of the 16th of June they threw up some intrenchments on an eminence near that town; the British advanced next day to drive them from it, and, though they suffered severely from the well-directed fire of the provincials, they succeeded in their object*.

The congress meantime had re-assembled (May 10). They again drew up a petition and addresses, expressing the strongest desire for accommodation, at the same time adopting all possible measures for continuing the contest. The man on whom they fixed their choice for commander-in-chief of their forces was George Washington, of whom we have already had occasion to speak. He accepted that post of honour and danger; and, on joining the army at Cambridge, he found himself at the head of fifteen thousand men, ill-appointed and undisciplined. Fortunately for him, Gage, who had a superior force, was unenterprising; and his successor, general Howe, also remained inactive. By fitting out armed cruisers, the Americans succeeded in intercepting much of the stores and supplies destined for the troops in Boston.

In the spring of this year the provincials had conceived the daring design of invading Canada. They reduced the forts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point; and while one force, under general Montgomery, advanced and took Montreal, another, under colonel Arnold, made its way through the

* The eminence was named Breed's-hill, though the affair has taken its name from the adjoining Bunker's-hill.

wilderness to Quebec, where it was joined by the former (Dec. 1), and the city was besieged. An assault was attempted (31st), in which Montgomery was killed and Arnold severely wounded, but he still kept up a blockade. He was reinforced in the spring, but was eventually driven out of the province by general Carleton. On this occasion, captain Forster, who had taken a great number of prisoners, released them, Arnold engaging that an equal number of the royal troops should be returned; but the congress broke this cartel, on the pretence, which was notoriously false, that Forster had treated his prisoners barbarously.

The opening of the year 1776 found Washington still engaged in the blockade of Boston; but the difficulties which he had to encounter were numerous. His force was mere militia, bound to serve only for the term of a year; so that a new army was to be raised at the end of that period, and the knowledge and discipline acquired in the campaign became useless: he was ill-supplied with the munitions of war, while he could not venture to make his real condition known, and even found it prudent to exaggerate his strength; and hence successes were expected from him which he could not accomplish: add to this, the thwarting and paralysing influence of a popular form of government and the jealousies of the different states. Fortunately for him, he had an ally in the incapacity of the British general, who remained on the defensive, with a disciplined and well-appointed army.

In the spring Washington resolved to make a bold attempt on Boston. On the night of the 4th of March a body of the provincials threw up works on Dorchester-heights, which commanded the harbour, in which no ships could now remain; and the attempt to dislodge the enemy offered so many difficulties, that general Howe agreed to evacuate the town. The British troops proceeded by sea to Halifax, in Nova Scotia, whence they sailed (June 10) for New York, and landed on Staten Island. Having here received large reinforcements of British and Hessian troops,

general Howe passed over to Long Island and routed the provincials, with a loss of two thousand slain and one thousand taken, among whom were their generals lord Stirling, Sullivan, and Udell; but, instead of attacking at once their lines at Brooklyn, he resolved to proceed by regular approaches, and Washington thus had time to convey his troops over the river. New York, however, surrendered, and remained in possession of the English during the war. Washington was finally driven over the river Delaware, and the province of New Jersey was reduced. On the night of Christmas-day, however, this able commander secretly crossed the river, and surprised and captured a party of Hessians at Trenton; and he finally recovered a great part of New Jersey.

On the 4th of July, 1776, the congress of the United States of America, as they now styled themselves, put forth their Declaration of Independence, a document of some ability and dignity, but which has been praised far above its desert. It detailed every real and imaginary grievance, laying the blame of everything on the king himself, whom they scrupled not to designate as a tyrant. The object of those who devised it was evidently to cut off all hope of reconciliation with the mother-country, and to afford a pretext for France and other powers to aid them; for they felt that single-handed they could not resist the power of Great Britain: in fact, they had already entered into secret relations with the court of France, which had agreed to assist them in an underhand manner.

In the campaign of 1777, the British general, after an ineffectual attempt at bringing Washington to action, embarked his troops for the invasion of Pennsylvania. They landed at the head of Chesapeake-bay, and (Sept. 11) routed the American army on the banks of a river named the Brandywine. After an ineffectual attempt to save Philadelphia, Washington retired, and (27th) the British troops entered that city.

While sir William Howe was thus successful in the central states, general Burgoyne was advancing from Canada to the Hudson with an army of about ten thousand British and Canadians. The Americans retired before him; but the impediments offered by the nature of the country were tremendous, and all the supplies had to be brought through Canada. Accessions of strength came every day to the enemy, who were successful in two or three affairs. At length Burgoyne reached Saratoga, not far from Albany, whence he advanced to a place named Still Water. He repelled two attacks of the indefatigable Arnold; but judging it necessary to fall back to Saratoga, he there found himself surrounded by an American army, under general Gates, three times as numerous as his own, exposed to a constant fire of cannon and rifles, and with no means of procuring provisions. In a council of war a capitulation was resolved on. The most honourable terms were obtained, the troops being granted a free passage to England, on condition of not serving again in America during the war. Desertion and other losses had reduced the British force to about five thousand eight hundred men, who laid down their arms (Oct. 14), and were marched to Boston. The delicacy and humanity with which Gates and his officers treated their captives is a grateful object to contemplate; but their conduct was not imitated by the congress.

Washington took up his winter quarters at a place named Valley Forge, and nothing could exceed the sufferings of the gallant men who served under him, unless it be their patient endurance. In miserable huts, without blankets or shoes, beneath the frost and snow of an American winter, often without food, they still endured, under the inspiring influence of their incomparable commander, and proved themselves worthy of eventual success.

The intelligence of Burgoyne's surrender decided the court of France, and a treaty was signed, in which the in-

dependence of America was acknowledged. A loan was granted, and a fleet prepared to aid them. The English ambassador was recalled from Paris.

The command of the troops in America was now transferred to sir Henry Clinton; and, in the prospect of a French war, it was resolved to evacuate Philadelphia and concentrate the forces. The army crossed the Delaware unopposed, but Washington impeded their march to New York in every possible manner. At a place named Monmouth an attack was made on the baggage, which brought on a partial action, in which the loss was between three and four hundred on each side. At the place of embarkation the British offered battle, which was declined, and they reached New York in safety (July 5). A French fleet, under count D'Estaing, with troops on board, having arrived, a combined attack was made by them and ten thousand Americans under general Sullivan on a British force at Newport, in Rhode Island; but lord Howe, the English admiral at New York, though inferior in strength, having appeared off Newport, D'Estaing came out to engage him. An indecisive action was fought, after which D'Estaing, in spite of the remonstrances of his allies, went to Boston to refit; and Sullivan was soon driven out of Rhode Island.

The British troops were chiefly employed in petty expeditions, in which they did the provincials much injury by destroying their shipping and property in general. A corps of three thousand five hundred men, under colonel Campbell, reduced the province of Georgia. In the West Indies, the island of Dominica was taken by the French; but St. Lucie surrendered to the English, after D'Estaing had been repulsed, both by sea and land, by inferior forces, in his attempts to relieve it.

The following year (1779) Spain followed the example of France in declaring war against England, and a combined fleet of more than sixty sail of the line, with frigates, etc., appeared off Plymouth. Sir Charles Hardy, who commanded the channel-fleet, had only thirty-eight ships

of the line, but he offered them battle, which they declined; and they quitted the channel without having done more than give the ministry and the nation a fright. Though D'Estaing acted mostly on the defensive in the West Indies, the islands of St. Vincent and Grenada fell into the hands of the French.

Washington directed his efforts chiefly to prevent the British from navigating the Hudson, for which purpose he fortified West Point, a strong position on that river, giving the command of it to general Arnold, and two other points, named Stony Point and Verplank. These last were taken and retaken by the British during this year. An expedition from New York did great mischief in Connecticut, burning towns and shipping, and carrying off stores and ammunition. Another expedition did the same in Virginia. The chief seat of the war, however, was the southern provinces. At Savannah, in Georgia, general Prevost was besieged by D'Estaing, who had two-and-twenty ships of war, and was aided by an American army under general Lincoln. Colonel Maitland, who, with eight hundred men, had routed this officer and five thousand men in John's Island, arriving at Savannah, preparations were made for a vigorous defence. A proposal to D'Estaing to allow the women and children to leave the town was barbarously refused. An attempt, however, to storm the British lines having failed, with great loss, the assailants raised the siege and separated, and D'Estaing returned to France.

The year 1780 opened inauspiciously for England. Gibraltar was besieged by a combined Spanish and French force, and Minorca was equally hard pressed by the same nations. At the impulse of the empress of Russia, most of the European powers entered into an Armed Neutrality, on the principle that "free ships make free goods, with the exception of arms and munitions of war," in opposition to the right of search claimed by belligerent powers. But the sea is the element on which British glory has always risen in triumph, and England now had a hero equal to

the emergency. Sir George Rodney had been selected for command by the king himself. He was to proceed for the West Indies, and, on his way, to convoy a squadron of transports for the relief of Gibraltar. As it was expected that he would leave the transports to proceed alone in a certain latitude, the Spanish admiral, Don Juan de Langara, was sent with eleven men of war to intercept them; but off Cape St. Vincent he was encountered by Rodney (Jan. 16). The action commenced at four in the afternoon, in a violent gale of wind, and was continued through a stormy night, and the whole Spanish fleet was taken or destroyed. Rodney relieved both Gibraltar and Minorca, and then sailed for the West Indies, where, soon after his arrival, he engaged off St. Lucie the count de Guichen. Rodney had twenty-one, the count twenty-three ships. By able manœuvres the English admiral had secured the prospect of a complete victory, but his captains (as formerly with Benbow), from jealousy, cowardice, or ignorance, disobeyed his signals, and the French fleet escaped. He brought one of the captains, Bateman, to a court-martial, and he was dismissed the service. Rodney tried ineffectually to bring the fleet again to action, but De Guichen sailed to Europe with the merchant-fleet, and Rodney then proceeded to the coast of America.

Though the independence of the revolted provinces had now been acknowledged by France and Spain, and these powers had, as it were, armed in their cause, never were the prospects of the colonists so gloomy. Even the firm mind of Washington began to despair. Their danger arose not from the increased power of Great Britain, or from the reverses of the war, but from their own dissensions and selfishness, from their local jealousies, and from that absorbing love of gain, the *auri sacra fames*, which seems to form the national character of the Americans, and which will probably for ever prevent them from being a truly great people. He who views in the congress an assembly of sages and patriots, such as we fancy the senate of

ancient Rome to have been, will find himself much disappointed when he reads their history. Patriots there were in it no doubt, and many even when acting wrong thought they were acting right; there were able men among them also; but in true wisdom they were wanting. Faction reigned, a childish dread of a standing army made them give their general nothing but militia, and numbers of the citizens made the public distress their gain. It was only the aid of France that saved them from ruin.

Relieved of all apprehension from Washington, sir H. Clinton resolved to attempt the reduction of South Carolina in person. He sailed from New York and laid siege to Charleston, into which general Lincoln had thrown himself with seven thousand provincials. When he had completed his works and was preparing to batter the town, a capitulation was proposed and accepted. The whole province was speedily reduced, and sir H. Clinton then returned to New York, leaving lord Cornwallis in Carolina with four thousand men. The American government sent thither general Gates, who assembled at Camden an army of six thousand men: lord Cornwallis advanced to attack him with not more than two thousand, and (Aug. 17) gave him a complete defeat, killing eight hundred, and taking two thousand men, with all the baggage, stores, and artillery; his own loss in killed and wounded being only three hundred and fifty men.

In July, a French fleet, having six thousand troops on board, under the count de Rochambeau, arrived at Rhode Island. It was proposed, when De Guichen, who was expected, should arrive, that a general attack by sea and land should be made on New York; but the activity of Rodney, as we have seen, disconcerted this plan.

While Washington was absent at a conference with count Rochambeau, Arnold, who had been in secret correspondence with sir H. Clinton for betraying West Point, desired that some trusty agent might be sent to him. Major André, adjutant-general of the British army, volunteered

his services, and he landed in the night from the Vulture sloop of war. At day-break, when his conference with Arnold was concluded, he found it impossible to return to the sloop, and being furnished by Arnold with a pass under the name of Anderson, he attempted to reach New York by land. He was however met and stopped by three militia-men. He wrote without delay a letter to Arnold under his assumed name, and that general escaped on board the Vulture just before Washington's order to arrest him arrived.

André, who no longer concealed his name or quality, was brought before a court-martial, and tried as a spy. He denied that he was such, as he had come on shore under a passport or flag of truce from Arnold. The court however found him guilty, and sentenced him to be hanged. Every exertion was made to save him by sir H. Clinton, but in vain; Washington was inexorable; even the urgent request of the prisoner to be shot was refused, and he was hanged (Oct. 2) amid the sympathy of the officers and soldiers of the American army.

As the contest was now drawing to its close, we will here pause and take a view of the state of affairs at home, for the last few years.

On the subject of the war with the colonies, feelings and opinions were divided. The great body of the nation was beyond doubt on the side of the ministry, and desirous of reducing the refractory colonists by force; and the king himself, with his characteristic obstinacy of character, was firmly set against concession. On the other hand, the whig-party, partly from prudence and a regard for justice, still more perhaps out of opposition to the court and ministry, were in favour of conciliation. The dissenters were, of course, we may say, on the side of the colonists, led more, perhaps, as is usual, by prejudice and a veneration for the honoured names of liberty, independence and such like, than by any maxims of sound policy and comprehensive wisdom. One of their most distinguished ministers,

Dr. Price, published a work at this time on the 'Nature of Civil Liberty, the Principles of Government,' etc., in which, as is usual in such writings, the blemishes of the British constitution were studiously displayed and exaggerated, while free reins were given to imagination in discussing the spirit and nature of the American revolution. There was however a judicious set of men, such as dean Tucker, who saw clearly that prudence and interest equally counselled an acknowledgement of the independence of the colonies; but their number of course was small, and their arguments were slighted.

Lord Chatham had from the very commencement of the troubles been the advocate of conciliation. He was for yielding to all the reasonable demands of the colonists; he reprobated the employment of foreign troops against them, and he poured forth a torrent of his most impassioned eloquence on the subject of the employment of the Indians in the war by Burgoyne. But nothing was further from the mind of this great man than the dismemberment of the empire. When on the 7th of April 1778, the duke of Richmond moved for an address to his majesty, beseeching him to recognise the independence of America by withdrawing his troops from that country, the earl of Chatham, though suffering severely from disease, entered the house supported by his son and son-in-law. The peers all rose and stood till he had taken his seat. When he got up to speak, a silence the most profound reigned through the house. He commenced by lamenting that his infirmities had so long kept him from his parliamentary duties; he said he had now made an effort almost beyond his powers, and was come for perhaps the last time to that house to express his indignation at the proposal of yielding up the sovereignty of America. His tone at first was low and feeble, but as he advanced, his voice recovered its accustomed power and melody, and his eye kindled as in former days. He went through the whole of the American war, dwelling on the measures he had opposed and the evils he

had predicted, adding at every close, "and so it proved." "My lords," said he in conclusion, "I rejoice that the grave has not closed on me, that I am still alive to lift up my voice against the dismemberment of this ancient and noble monarchy. Pressed down as I am by a load of infirmities, I am little able to serve my country in this most perilous conjuncture ; but while I have sense and memory, I will never consent to deprive the royal offspring of the house of Brunswick, the heirs of the princess Sophia, of their fairest inheritance, or to tarnish the lustre of the nation by an ignominious surrender of its rights and possessions. Shall this great kingdom, that has survived whole and intire Danish depredations, Scottish inroads, the Norman conquest, and the threatened invasion of the Spanish armada, now fall prostrate before the house of Bourbon ? Shall a people, seventeen years ago the terror of the world, now stoop so low as to tell its ancient and inveterate enemy, Take all we have, only give us peace ? It is impossible ! I wage war with no man, or set of men ; I wish for none of their employments ; nor would I co-operate with those who persist in unretracted error ; or who, instead of acting on a firm decisive line of conduct, halt between two opinions where there is no middle path. In God's name, if it be absolutely necessary to declare for peace or war, and if peace cannot be preserved with honour, why is not war commenced without hesitation ? I am not, I confess, well informed of the resources of this kingdom, but I trust it has still sufficient to maintain its just rights though I know them not. Any state however is better than despair ; let us at least make one effort, and if we must fall let us fall like men."

The duke of Richmond replied. As he proceeded in his argument, lord Chatham, by the motion of his hand, indicated that he took notice of, and would reply to some offensive expressions, but when he attempted to rise again to speak, he fell back in a convulsive fit. He was caught by those near him and carried into an adjoining apart-

ment, whence he was conveyed to his villa of Hayes in Kent, where on the eleventh of the following May he breathed his last, in the seventieth year of his age. He was honoured with a public funeral, and his remains repose in Westminster-abbey.

The name of William Pitt, the *great commoner*, the man who by the sole force of talent raised himself to the highest point of eminence, stands in our annals invested with never-fading glory. His contemporaries speak with wonder of the powers of his eloquence, his commanding figure, his noble countenance, his eagle-eye, his graceful action, his lofty declamation, his withering invective, his keen irony and sarcasm. The purity of his private life gave lustre to his public virtues. In an age of corruption, calumny never ventured to breathe a suspicion on his name. The only charge that could be made against him was, that for the sake of embarrassing Walpole he had advocated opinions which he renounced when himself in power. His ambition was boundless, his love of war was perhaps too great, and never did a minister more lavishly employ the resources of the country. Fortune however stood his friend; the successes of Wolfe in the West and of Clive in the East (with the last of which however he had no concern), shed glory on his administration; and the impulse which his genius had given to the nation, achieved resplendent triumphs even after his retirement from office. The chief defect in the character of this eminent man was a haughty and overbearing spirit, too often the concomitant of great political talents. As the vizier of an Eastern monarch Pitt would have been in his proper element, as all would then have yielded to his will, and there would have been no popular assembly to convince or to conciliate*. By his acceptance of a peerage he certainly blemished his reputation.

* According to Walpole (ii. 214), Pitt declared to Fox that Ximenes was his favourite character in history.

In the session of 1778 a bill, brought in by sir George Saville for the repeal of certain penalties affecting the Roman catholics, was passed with little opposition. The fanatic spirit of the Scottish nation, however, was excited ; tumults took place at Edinburgh and Glasgow, and a Protestant Association was formed which was gradually extended to England. In 1780 the principal branch of this society in London, having chosen as its president lord George Gordon, brother of the duke of that title, a weak, dissipated, but fanatic young man, it was resolved to petition parliament to repeal the obnoxious statute. Lord George, who was a member of the house of commons, agreed to present the petition, provided it was brought up by at least twenty thousand men.

On Friday June the 2nd, the petitioners assembled in St. George's-fields, to the number of from forty to fifty thousand, and with lord George at their head, and wearing blue cockades inscribed with 'No Popery', marched in four divisions to the parliament-house, where they blocked up the avenues and insulted several of the members. On the arrival of some troops in the evening they retired, but proceeded to demolish the chapels of the Sardinian and Bavarian embassies. On Saturday the populace remained quiet, but on Sunday they demolished the chapels and dwelling-houses of the catholics about Moorfields. Their efforts on Monday were directed against the house of sir George Saville in Leicester-fields, which was saved with difficulty. On Tuesday, which was the day for taking their petition into consideration, the mob again surrounded the house, and the members having passed some resolutions suited to the occasion, adjourned. In the evening Newgate was broken open, and three hundred ruffians turned loose ; the house of sir John Fielding, the magistrate, was demolished ; the rabble then rushed to Bloomsbury-square and attacked the residence of lord Mansfield ; they plundered and destroyed the furniture, pictures, and statues, and burned the books and manuscripts ; the earl himself

and his lady escaping with difficulty. The day concluded by the breaking open of Clerkenwell prison. On Wednesday the King's-bench, the Fleet, and other prisons were broken open and set on fire, as also were several private houses, and attempts were made on the Bank and Pay-office.

Hitherto the mob had rioted and destroyed at will. On this day a privy-council sat, but was rising without coming to a conclusion, when the king asked if nothing effectual could be recommended. The attorney-general said that he knew of but one course, which was to authorise the military to act without the presence of a magistrate. The council, though approving, hesitated to adopt this course; when the king, nobly declaring that he would take the whole responsibility on himself, signed the order. The guards and militia forthwith began to act against the rioters; the slaughter was considerable, but next day by noon the city was tranquil. Lord George Gordon was committed to the Tower on a charge of high-treason. Numbers of the rioters were tried by a special commission, and fifty-nine were capitally convicted.

It is remarkable that this happened to be the very time selected by the duke of Richmond for introducing a bill for parliamentary reform, based on the principles of annual parliaments and universal suffrage. The actual conduct of the future constituents it may be supposed did not prejudice the peers much in favour of the proposed measure, and the duke was content that his bill should be merely read and laid on the table. Many are the instances of human folly which the student of history meets with in his course; but of all follies, perhaps the greatest is that of supposing that peasants, town-labourers and low mechanics, who must form the great majority of the population in every country, are capable of thinking and reasoning correctly on either foreign or domestic politics, and therefore fit to be entrusted with political power. Yet what folly, or rather what base juggle, is so often repeated? The love of

mischievous or gain, or the craving after low popularity is the usual motive of the advocates of such a destructive principle. If the lower classes were wise they would be content with justice and security, and seek not for power which they would only exercise to their own eventual injury.

We now resume the narrative of the American war.

The blockade of Gibraltar still continued (1781); famine preyed on the garrison and people, but admiral Danby conveyed supplies to it in the face of a superior Spanish fleet lying in the bay of Cadiz. The besiegers then kept up for the space of three weeks one of the most tremendous bombardments in the annals of war, and they had brought their works to completion, when a sally of the garrison totally destroyed them. A combined force of sixteen thousand men was landed at Minorca for the attack of St. Philip's castle, and a combined fleet of seventy ships of war appeared in the British channel.

The Dutch had perfidiously joined in the war against England, but they paid dear for their treachery. Admiral Parker, as with six ships of the line and some frigates he was convoying a fleet from the Baltic, was encountered off the Doggerbank (Aug. 5) by the Dutch admiral Zoutman, with ten sail of the line and frigates. The action, which lasted nearly four hours, was terrific; the English had five hundred, the Dutch twelve hundred, killed and wounded; both fleets were disabled, and the Dutch hardly got into their own ports. In the West Indies, Rodney took their island of St. Eustathius, in which, being a free port, immense wealth in goods and stores was collected: all this became the prize of the victors, who also captured a great number of merchantmen*.

* With that base love of gain which too often degrades the mercantile character, some London and Bermudian merchants had been in the habit of supplying the American privateers with warlike stores; gunpowder going under the name of grain and cannon-balls of fruit in their accounts and papers. "My happiness," writes Rodney, "is having been the instrument of my country in bringing this nest of villains to condign punishment. They deserve scourging, and they shall be scourged."—*Life of Rodney*, ii. pp. 12, 13. He

Sir Henry Clinton having sent general Arnold with a force into Virginia, directed lord Cornwallis to form a junction with him. As he was advancing for that purpose, he sent colonel Tarleton with a corps of eleven hundred men, to oppose general Morgan who was acting on his left. At a place called the Cowpens, Tarleton came up with the enemy (Jan. 17), and in the hard-fought action which ensued, the British were defeated for the first time in an open field of battle. The American general Greene displayed considerable ability in impeding the measures of lord Cornwallis till he found himself strong enough to engage him; he then (Mar. 15) gave him battle at Guilford court-house. The Americans had five thousand men, the British half the number. The latter gained the honour of the day, but want of provisions and the severity of the weather obliged them to retire, leaving their wounded to the care of the enemy. Lord Cornwallis then pushed on for Virginia, while Greene advanced toward South Carolina. At a place named Hobkirk's-hill (Apr. 25) he was attacked and routed by lord Rawdon; and, after a variety of operations, he encountered (Sept 8) at Eutaw-springs colonel Stewart, who now commanded the British in that province. The action was the most obstinate that had yet been fought; the American militia acted nobly; both sides claimed the victory, but the British found it necessary to retire to Charleston.

Lord Cornwallis, meantime, having reached the Chesapeake, in spite of opposition, fortified York-town and Gloucester-point. He applied in vain for reinforcements to sir H. Clinton, who feared for New York. A large French fleet, under count De Grasse, then entered the Chesapeake, and Washington and count Rochambeau having joined their forces, their united army of twelve thousand men appeared before York-town, while De Grasse blocked up the mouth of the York river. The British

was however severely attacked by Burke in parliament, and some of the *villains* recovered damages against him in suits at law.

force did not amount to seven thousand men. A gallant defence was made, but they were obliged to yield to numbers, and capitulate (Oct. 19). With this unfortunate event the contest in America terminated.

Fortune was elsewhere unfavourable to Great Britain, whom France had now deprived of all the Leeward Islands, except Antigua and Barbadoes. Minorca was lost; St. Philip's castle, after one of the noblest defences on record, and the reduction of its garrison to eight hundred men, having been obliged to surrender.

The surrender of York-town sealed the doom of the North administration. An unfortunate minister is seldom secure in his power; the country gentlemen now opened their eyes to the folly of continuing the war; a formidable plan of attack was conceived and executed by the opposition, led on by general Conway and Mr. Fox, and sustained by their usual champions, with the accession of William Pitt, son of the great earl of Chatham, and Mr. Sheridan, both of whom had displayed great talent in debate. Day after day the ministerial majority declined. At length (Mar. 1782) lord North announced that the cabinet was dissolved.

The opposition having gained the victory, had now to divide the spoils. But herein lay a difficulty. It consisted of two almost hostile parties; the one headed by the marquess of Rockingham, which was for conceding total independence to the colonies; the other, led by the earl of Shelburne, which though willing to yield up the right of taxation and terminate the war, trod in the steps of lord Chatham, who almost with his dying breath had protested against a dismemberment of the empire. The new ministry was formed of five of each party; the chancellor lord Thurlow, to gratify the king, being allowed to retain the great seal. Lord Rockingham was premier; lord Shelburne and Mr. Fox secretaries; general Conway commander-in-chief; lord John Cavendish chancellor of the exchequer; Mr. Dunning (now lord Ashburton) chancellor

of the duchy of Lancaster, etc.; Burke was paymaster of the forces; Barré treasurer of the navy; Sheridan under-secretary of state. Pitt declined taking any office.

The watchword of the new ministry was peace, economy, and no patronage. Yet, when Mr. Pitt brought in a bill for a reform in parliament, it was rejected, and the whole of the retrenchments made amounted only to 72,000*l.* a year, the far greater part of which was in the department of Mr. Burke, the great advocate of the measure. What further they might have done is not to be known, for the death of lord Rockingham in the summer broke up the cabinet, as Fox and his friends refused to act under lord Shelburne, and retired. Mr. Pitt now took office as chancellor of the exchequer, though only twenty-three years of age.

Negotiations for peace had been commenced, but the war still continued. On the 12th of April Rodney brought De Grasse to action in the West Indies, and by executing the manœuvre of breaking the line, he gave him a complete defeat, taking or destroying eight ships, and reducing almost to wrecks the remainder, two of which were captured a few days after by sir Samuel Hood. But as admiral Graves was conducting the prizes to England, and convoying the homeward-bound merchant-fleet, a terrific storm came on, in which all the prizes but one, two British men-of-war, and several of the merchantmen, perished, and three thousand lives were lost. At home, the loss of the Royal George of one hundred guns, which was upset by a squall (Aug. 29) at Portsmouth, and went down with admiral Kempenfeldt and a thousand men and women on board, increased the calamities of the year.

The storm of war beat this year with unprecedented fury on the rock of Gibraltar and its heroic defenders. The duke of Crillon, the conqueror of Minorca, took the command of the besieging army; ten floating batteries, proof against shot and fire, were constructed; forty-seven sail of the line, beside frigates and other craft, were collected in

the bay; while batteries, mounting two hundred guns and protected by forty thousand men, were raised on the isthmus. The whole force by land and sea amounted to a hundred thousand men. On the 13th of September a simultaneous canonnade was opened on the fortress, which was returned by shells and red-hot balls. The whole peninsula seemed one blaze of flame, while the roaring of the artillery was not intermitted for a second. During the day no effect seemed to be made on either side, but in the night two of the floating batteries burst into flames; the light enabled the besieged to direct their guns, and by morning six more were in the same condition; the fire from twelve gun-boats prevented the enemy from bringing off their crews, all of whom would have perished but for the humanity of the British, who saved about four hundred men. The siege was now at an end, and the war was thus concluded brilliantly by England in Europe as well as in the West Indies. Her success had been uniform in the East. General Elliot, the gallant governor of Gibraltar, was raised to the peerage by the title of baron Heathfield.

As the Shelburne administration could not command a majority in parliament, it was necessary to seek the support of either lord North or Mr. Fox. With the former Mr. Pitt would have nothing to do; duty, he said, forbade him to unite with a man who had brought such calamity on the country, and whose principles he had so often condemned. He agreed to make a personal application to Mr. Fox, but the antipathy of the latter to lord Shelburne was invincible. The ministry therefore resolved to go on as they were with the public business. The preliminary treaties of peace with France and Spain were accordingly executed; but when the day came for submitting them to parliament (Feb. 17, 1783), the address was carried in the lords only by a majority of seventy-two to fifty-nine, and in the commons the minister was defeated by a majority of sixteen. The cause of this was the celebrated coalition between Fox and lord North, the most disgraceful com-

pact, save one, that our history records : Mr. Fox, from lust of power and revenge, united with a man on whom for years he had been pouring forth the vials of his wrath, and whom he had so often menaced with impeachment ! After an ineffectual struggle the ministry resigned ; the king made every effort in his power to avoid capitulating to Fox ; he even meditated a retreat to Hanover. At length he yielded, and in the beginning of April a new ministry, with the duke of Portland at its head, was formed ; lord North and Mr. Fox were the secretaries of state, and lord John Cavendish chancellor of the exchequer. Mr. Burke returned to his former situation, and thus took his share in the indelible disgrace of his party.

By the treaty of peace which had been concluded, the independence of the United States of America was acknowledged ; between England, France and Spain there was a restitution of conquests, and the last power obtained Minorca and the Floridas. The only loss of England was a hundred million pounds, which she added to her debt, for a very few years showed that the trade with the independent states of America was infinitely more valuable than that with them as colonies had ever been. The madness of the house of Bourbon in encouraging the principles of revolution out of hatred to England, was destined ere long to meet its chastisement from these very principles. As for the United States, they have since advanced prodigiously in wealth and population, but they have fallen under the tyranny of a fierce democracy, beneath whose influence the national character is continually deteriorating ; and perhaps it is their lot to save the parent-state from a similar condition, by exhibiting it in its genuine deformity*.

* For this purpose, travels and other works relating to the social and political condition of the United States should be carefully studied. We recommend particularly the writings of M. de Tocqueville and captains Hamilton and Marryat. Judge Haliburton's humorous 'Clockmaker' likewise contains numerous sound and sagacious observations on the state of affairs in North America. One good effect resulting from our extended acquaintance with the real condition of the United States is, that we rarely now see them and their

In every point of view, the separation has been a blessing to England ; it is only to be regretted, as we have already observed, that it was not effected amicably.

The coalition ministry soon met with the fate it merited. The want of confidence in the public appeared by the decline in the funds, the three per cent. consols falling from 70 to 56. Mr. Pitt's motion for reform was negatived. At length Mr. Fox introduced his India-bill, and its rejection by the lords (Dec. 16) sealed the doom of the ministry. A new cabinet was formed with Mr. Pitt for its chief, and this extraordinary man sat at the helm of the state, with but one interruption, for the remainder of his life. Mr. Fox remained the leader of the opposition.

When we consider the youth of Mr. Pitt, the political courage and wisdom which he displayed in this crisis is astonishing. Instead of dissolving the parliament, he went on suffering himself to be beaten in every division till he had given the opposition and their leader abundant opportunity to show to the world that their object was that a tyrannical majority of the commons should dictate to the king, the lords, and the nation, treading in the steps of the Long Parliament. He then (Mar. 24, 1784) appealed to the country by a dissolution ; and the number of ' Fox's Martyrs,' as those opposition members who lost their seats were humorously called, being a hundred and sixty, his triumph was complete, and the power of the great whig oligarchy was finally overthrown. Henceforth, till the horrors of war were renewed, Mr. Pitt went on steadily improving the internal condition of the empire.

Toward the close of the year 1788, an event occurred of considerable importance in the legislative history of the country.

The health of the king had been lately in a precarious

institutions held up, as they have been even in parliament, as models for our imitation. It may be here observed that the letters in the Times newspaper signed ' A Genevese Traveller,' are evidently the compositions of one most intimately acquainted with the United States and their parties and politics.

state, and his disorder finally terminated in mental derangement. When the fact had been ascertained, Mr. Pitt (Dec. 10) moved for a committee to inspect the journals for precedents. Mr. Fox insisted that the heir-apparent had an indisputable claim to the exercise of the executive authority. This Mr. Pitt denied, declaring such an assertion to be little less than treason to the constitution: "kings and princes," he said, "derived their power from the people; and to the people alone, by means of their representatives, did it belong to decide in cases for which the constitution had made no specific provision." The prince, he maintained, had no more right in this case than any other subject, though it might be expedient to offer him the regency. In the house of lords, the same view of the constitution was taken by lord Camden.

Mr. Fox, finding that the principles he had advanced were generally disapproved of, then sought only to procure for the prince the full, unrestricted enjoyment of the royal prerogative; but Mr. Pitt had his reasons for imposing limitations.

The usual position of the house of Brunswick, in fact, continued; the heir-apparent was in opposition to the king, and on the usual account—money. The prince of Wales, who was of a remarkably dissipated and extravagant temper, had been allowed 50,000*l.* a year, a sum sufficient, it might be supposed, for a single man even in his exalted station; but as the king himself, when prince of Wales, had been allowed 100,000*l.* a year, the coalition-ministry had insisted on the same sum being given to the present heir-apparent; but partly from parsimony, partly from disapproval of the prince's mode of life, and partly from dislike of the proposers, the king had obstinately refused his assent. The consequence was that the prince got deeply in debt,—a state, from which, as subsequent events showed, even the larger sum would not have preserved him. In 1786 he applied to his father for assistance, and meeting with a harsh refusal, he set about a pretended system of

economy, selling all his horses, (his coach-horses included,) suspending his buildings, shutting up the most splendid apartments in Carlton-house, his residence, etc. When this had been supposed to have produced its effect on the public mind, his friends in the commons proposed (Apr. 20, 1787) an address to the king for his relief. Mr. Pitt earnestly required that the motion should be withdrawn, as it might lead to the disclosure of circumstances which he would wish to conceal. Mr. Rolle used still stronger language; while Fox, Sheridan and others of the prince's friends insisted that he feared no investigation of his conduct.

The matter alluded to was the secret marriage of the prince of Wales with a catholic lady of the name of Fitzherbert,—a fact, of which we believe at present there can be no doubt. Mr. Fox, however, a few days after, by the authority of the prince, declared, that “the fact not only could never have happened legally, but never did happen in any way, and had from the beginning been a vile and malignant falsehood.” The greater part of the house was, or affected to be, satisfied, and a meeting having taken place between the prince and Mr. Pitt, an addition of 10,000*l.* a year was made to his royal highness's income; 161,000*l.* was issued for the payment of his debts and 20,000*l.* for the works at Carlton-house. The prince then resumed his former mode of life, and soon got into debt as deeply as ever.

As there could be no doubt but that the prince, when regent, would select his ministers from the party with which he had long been connected, Mr. Pitt, we may be allowed to suppose, from private as well as public motives, was anxious to limit his powers. The regency was therefore offered to the prince, subject to the conditions of not being enabled to confer any peerage, or to grant any office, reversion or pension, except during the king's pleasure; while the care of the royal person, with the disposition of the household, and the consequent appointment to all

places in it (about four hundred in number) should be committed to the queen. The prince, though mortified, consented to accept this limited sovereignty. Had Mr. Fox and his friends been wise, (which they rarely showed themselves to be) they would have snatched the reins of power at once; but instead of doing so, they interposed such numerous needless delays, (though it was well-known that the king's health was improving every day,) that the bill did not reach its second reading in the house of lords till the 19th of February; the accounts of the royal health were by that time so favourable, that the house judged it decorous to adjourn to the 24th, on which day his majesty's intellect had recovered its usual state, and the cup of power was once more dashed from the lips of the whigs.

Very different had been the conduct of the Irish parliament. An address to the prince of Wales, "requesting him immediately to take on him the government of that kingdom as regent," was voted by both houses without a division, and when the lord-lieutenant refused to transmit it, commissioners were appointed to present it to the prince. Here, then, was a striking proof of the evil of a divided legislature, and of the necessity of an incorporating union. Had the prince refused the limited regency of England, it would probably have been given to the queen, and thus England would have been ruled by one regent and Ireland by another, and with different powers. Fortunately the recovery of the king prevented the matter from acting otherwise than as a warning and an incentive to prudent statesmen, to guard against the recurrence of such another crisis.

CHAPTER IV.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED).

1600—1789.

East India Company.—State of India.—First exploits of Clive.—Capture of Calcutta.—Successes of Clive.—Battle of Plassey.—English in India.—Vigorous reforms of Clive;—his death.—Warren Hastings.—The Rohillas.—Cheyte Sing.—The Begums.—Impeachment of Hastings.—East India bills of Fox and Pitt.—Marquess Cornwallis.

As India now formed an important portion of the British empire, we will sketch the origin and progress of the English dominion in that vast region*.

Toward the close of the reign of queen Elizabeth the English merchants began to aspire to a share in the lucrative commerce of the East, then engrossed by the Portuguese. The distance, danger, and expense of the voyage proving too great for individual enterprise, the queen in the year 1600 granted a charter to a company of merchants for the trade to India. The original capital of the company was 72,000*l.* divided into 50*l.* shares. In 1612 they established their first factory at Surat on the west coast of India. They formed settlements also in the Spice Islands; but from these they were driven by a series of aggressive acts on the part of the Dutch who had also settled there, ending in the massacre of Amboyna in 1623. Toward the middle of the 17th century they established factories at Madras and Fort St. David on the coast of Coromandel, and at Hooghly on the river of that name in Bengal, whence they afterwards removed to Calcutta, lower down on the same river. Charles II. gave to them the island of Bombay, which he had received in dower with his queen, and

* See Orme's *History of Indostan*, Mill's *History of British India*, Sir John Malcolm's *Life of Clive*, and his other works on India.

the isle of St. Helena in the Atlantic. James II., a great fosterer of trade, enlarged their charter very much, empowering them to build fortresses, raise troops, coin money, etc. By the extravagance, mismanagement, and corruption incidental to a company of the kind, they soon incurred a debt of two millions sterling; and in 1698 a rival company, by offering a large advance of money at eight per cent. to the government, obtained a charter. The old company also obtained a renewal of theirs, and after a trial of a few years, finding the competition ruinous, they united in 1702 under a new charter, and took the name of 'The United East India Company.' Their affairs were directed at home by a court of twenty-four directors chosen annually by the proprietors of the stock, and each of their settlements was governed by a president and a select committee.

At this time, the Portuguese, whose dominion had never been stable, were powerless in India; but the French had settlements at Pondicherry, on the coast of Coromandel, and at Chandernagore, on the Hooghly. The Dutch also had a factory at Chinsura on this river, and others on the Coromandel coast.

The political condition of India was of the following nature. In the close of the fifteenth century, Baber, a descendant of the celebrated Timoor, invaded and conquered a great part of India with an army of Mogul Turks. This empire was gradually extended by his successors, and under the vigorous rule of Aurungzebe it attained its utmost limits. But after the death of that monarch in 1707, the decline of the empire rapidly advanced, and the invasion of Nadir Shah, the Persian, in 1738, reduced it to the lowest ebb. Many of the subordinate chiefs became independent, yielding only a nominal obedience to the emperor of Delhi.

Permanent conquest in the East is little more than a change of rulers; the laws, the customs, the property of the people remain unaltered. So it was in India; a Hin-

doo *rajah* was in many cases succeeded by a Mohammedan *nabob*, but the cultivator only paid his land-tax as before : the finances of the state were managed by Hindoos, and the native Soocars, or bankers, and opulent merchants retained the influence which wealth never fails to confer. Large portions of the empire were placed under the government of Soobahdars, or viceroys, under whom Mogul Nabobs or Hindoo Rajahs ruled over smaller districts.

The English long abstained from taking any concern in the affairs of the native princes, and they would probably have continued this prudent course had it not been for the ambition of their restless rivals the French. When the Silesian war broke out in Europe, France and England extended their hostilities to the East. A French fleet, under M. de Bourdonnais, reached India in 1746 ; the English fleet there retired before it, and Bourdonnais reduced Madras. He engaged that it should be restored on payment of a ransom ; but when he was gone, Dupleix, the governor of Pondicherry, refused to perform the agreement. Dupleix attempted the following year to take Fort St. David, but he was obliged to retire, and was himself besieged in Pondicherry by admiral Boscawen (1749) ; owing however to the lateness of the season, want of skill in the engineer, and other causes, the siege proved a failure. By the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle Madras was restored ; but as both the English and French companies had now good bodies of troops, they engaged them in the disputes of the native princes, till the breaking out of the Seven Years' War placed them again in hostilities with each other. These troops, we may observe, consisted of Europeans and of natives called Sepoys*.

Nizam-ul-Mulk, the soobahdar of the Deckan (*South*), or that part of India south of the river Nerbuddah, had of late years rendered himself nearly independent of the Great Mogul. Under him the nabob of Arcot ruled the Carnatic, a region extending for more than five hundred miles along

* The Persian *Sipahi* or Turkish *Spahi*, foot-soldier.

the east coast, and in which both Madras and Pondicherry lie. After the death of Nizam-ul-Mulk the succession to his dignity was disputed in the usual oriental manner, and it chanced that there was also a contest for the nabobship of Arcot. Dupleix saw a prospect of power and wealth if he were to take part in the affair, and he embraced the cause of Muzuffir Jung, a grandson of Nizam-ul-Mulk, and of Chunda Sahib, a pretender to the nabobship. The English became aware that they also must become parties in the contest or tamely submit to be driven out of the country, as the candidates supported by Dupleix were now triumphant. They accordingly took the side of Nasir Jung, son of the late soobahdar, and of Mohammed Ali, son of the late nabob. But they were at this time greatly inferior to their rivals in power and influence, and Dupleix had obtained a large share of the treasures of Nizam-ul-Mulk and been appointed governor of all the country south of the river Kistna. To relate the contest in detail falls not within our province; but as it served to bring to view the great qualities of Clive, the founder of the Anglo-Indian empire, we will dwell on it for a short space.

Robert Clive, the son of a respectable family in Shropshire, went out to Madras as a writer in 1744, at the age of nineteen. Not relishing the civil service, he obtained in 1747 an ensign's commission in the company's troops, and on various occasions he showed himself, by his courage, coolness, presence of mind, and fertility of resource, to be a born soldier; he rose to the rank of captain, and his talents were generally acknowledged, especially by Major Lawrence, the able commander of the troops at Madras.

In 1751 the affairs of Mohammed Ali were at so low an ebb, that nothing, it was plain, could save them from ruin but some extraordinary effort. As Chunda Sahib was absent, besieging his rival in Trinchinopoly, Clive proposed a bold attempt to besiege his capital, Arcot. At the head of a force of not more than two hundred Europeans and three hundred sepoys he set forth to attack a fort garrisoned

by eleven hundred men and in a city with one hundred thousand inhabitants; but the garrison retired at his approach, and the people received him favourably. Chunda Sahib sent his son to recover the fortress, and Clive soon found himself with only four officers, one hundred and twenty Europeans, and two hundred sepoy (to this his force was now reduced), in a ruinous fort of more than a mile in circumference, and with provision only for sixty days, besieged by a force of one hundred and fifty French and ten thousand native troops well supplied with artillery. Here, however, he maintained himself for fifty days, repelled every attack, and finally forced the enemy to raise the siege and retire from the town.

Being reinforced from Fort St. David, and joined by a corps of the people named Mahrattas, he defeated a body of three hundred French and four thousand five hundred natives, and took the pagoda or temple of Conjeveram; and afterwards, at the village of Coverspak, he totally routed a force of about the same number (Jan. 1752). The seat of war was now transferred to Trinchinopoly and its vicinity, where Clive cheerfully served under major Lawrence. Success attended all their operations; the power and influence of the French sank everywhere. The death of Chunda Sahib relieved Mohammed Ali from a competitor; and the recall of Dupleix (1754), and the pacific character of his successor, Godeheu, seemed to promise a period of tranquillity. Clive took advantage of this state of affairs to return to England for the re-establishment of his health. After an abode of two years in his native country, he returned to India as governor of Fort St. David, with a commission of lieutenant-colonel in the British army, in order to enable him to command the king's troops. He reached Fort St. David on the 20th of June, 1756; and that very day an event occurred in Bengal—the capture of Calcutta—which called him away to that province which was to be the great scene of his glory.

For the last fifteen years the kingdoms of Bengal, Bahar,

and Orissa had been ruled by the soobahdar Aliverdi Khan, an able and prudent man. On his death (Apr. 9, 1756) he was succeeded by his grand-nephew, Suraj-ud-Dowla, a licentious youth of violent passions. The new ruler, jealous of the English, or coveting their reputed wealth, resolved to make a pretext for robbing and expelling them. He first charged them with fortifying Calcutta, and this being disproved, he accused them of protecting one of his subjects who had fled with great treasure. The treasure it was shown did not exist; and the person in question he was assured should be reserved for his pleasure. But the rapacious youth would listen to no excuse. At the head of a large army he appeared before Calcutta. Little or no attempt was made at resistance; most of the English, including Mr. Drake the governor, and captain Minchin the commandant of the troops, got on board the ships and hastened down the river. About one hundred and fifty persons were left behind in the fort; and, during two days, (though we are assured that a single sloop, with fifteen men, could have carried them off in spite of the enemy) such was the ignoble terror which possessed the fugitives, that not a single effort was made to relieve them. Mr. Holwell, who had taken the temporary command, then proposed a surrender; but before he could obtain a reply the fort was stormed and all in it made prisoners. When night came on, the victors placed their captives, one hundred and forty-six in number, in a room twenty feet square, with only two small windows, named the Black Hole, and which the English had made for a place of confinement. The dreadful heat and the want of air quickly deprived some of existence; others lost their reason, and expired in delirium; their entreaties and offers of money to their guards to give them water, or to remove them, were mocked at or disregarded; and when the prison was opened next morning only twenty-three remained alive. There is no reason to suppose that the soobahdar designed their death, but he expressed no concern when informed

of it. Having plundered the town, he departed, leaving in it a garrison of three thousand men.

The right of the English to Calcutta was fully as good as that of the soobahdar to his dominions, for they held it by a grant from the emperor. Justice was therefore evidently on their side in the contest in which they were now about to engage. When the intelligence reached Madras (Aug. 16), it was resolved at once to send an expedition to Bengal, and Clive was appointed to the command of it. It consisted of nine hundred Europeans and fifteen hundred sepoy, and was conveyed by five of his majesty's and five of the company's ships, under admiral Watson. On the 22nd of December they reached Fulta, a village on the Hooghly, not far from Calcutta, and in the course of ten days (Jan. 2, 1757) they recovered that city, whence an expedition sailed up the river to attack the large town of Hooghly. The fort was taken (11th), after a slight resistance; they then destroyed the granaries at various places further up the river, and returned to Calcutta with a booty of a lac and a half of rupees*. At the end of the month, Suraj-ud-Dowla approached Calcutta; he professed friendship, and offered to make restitution of property; but Clive soon ascertained that he was only amusing them, in order imperceptibly to get possession of the city, and cut off supplies from the fort; he therefore resolved on an immediate attack, and at six in the morning (Feb. 5) he entered the camp of the enemy, at the head of nearly all his forces. He crossed it in about two hours, doing considerable execution; but at daybreak his army became enveloped in so dense a fog that they lost their way, and thus partially failed in their object. The nabob, however, was so alarmed, that he retired to some distance, and again made overtures of peace, to which Clive, apprehensive of his joining with the French, readily listened; and treaties were signed, by which the nabob restored and extended the privileges of the company, and engaged to make compensation for all

* A lac of rupees is about 10,000*l*.

their losses ; while *they* pledged themselves to look on his enemies as their own.

As war had broken out anew between France and England, and the French were now very strong in southern India, the government at Madras were urgent with Clive to attack their settlement at Chandernagore, in order to depress their power in Bengal. Accordingly, having drawn a reluctant consent from the nabob, Clive and Watson attacked and took that settlement (March 23). Clive was always of opinion that it was impossible for the French and the English to co-exist in India, and that one or other must be expelled ; and he soon had indubitable proof that it was the intention of the nabob to unite his forces with the former. As that prince had also formed an entrenched camp at a place named Plassey, and interrupted the communication of the English with their factory at Cossimbazar, Clive did not hesitate to take share in a conspiracy now organized for his dethronement. The principal persons engaged in it were, Meer Jaffier, the Bukhshee, or general ; Roy Dullub, the Dewan, or minister of finance ; and Jugget Seit, the richest banker in India. A treaty was concluded, by which Meer Jaffier was to be placed on the *musnud*, or throne ; he was in return to give forty lacs of rupees to the army and navy, and twelve to the committee at Calcutta.

When all was arranged, Clive set forth with a force of three thousand men, of whom not quite a third were Europeans. He directed his march for Plassey, which place he reached before day on the 23rd of June. At daybreak, the nabob's army, of fifteen thousand horse and thirty-five thousand foot, advanced to attack him. Clive's troops were posted in a grove defended by mud-banks. After cannonading them till noon, the enemy retired to their fortified camp ; and shortly after Clive stormed an angle of it, put them to the rout, and pursued them for a space of six miles. In this battle, which decided the fate of the English in India, the loss of the enemy was only five-hundred men.

Suraj-ud-Dowla fled to his capital Moorsshedabad, and sending from it what treasure he could, he followed it himself at midnight. He was afterwards taken and put to death by the son of Meer Jaffier.

It has always been the custom in the East to pay for political services liberally, and this custom was adhered to in the present instance. In the treaty concluded by Clive with the new soobahdar it was stipulated that one hundred lacs of rupees should be paid to the company for their losses and for the expenses of the campaign, with compensation to all the sufferers at the taking of Calcutta; the company was also to have the *zemindary** of a tract of country to the south of that city. In his donations to those to whom he was indebted for his throne the soobahdar was most profuse. His gifts to Clive amounted to 180,000*l.*; but, though offered presents by Roy Dullub and others, Clive refused them; for he considered that in receiving gifts from the prince whom he had benefited he was justified by the usages of Asia, and not condemned by the general principles of morality; the presents of individuals he viewed under a different light. It is well known what an outcry was afterwards raised against this distinguished man on this account; but, as it has not been shown that avarice was his motive to action, or that he sacrificed in the slightest degree the interests of the company to his own, we cannot see any grounds whatever for condemning him for making a fortune when an honourable occasion was presented.

Meer Jaffier was a weak, imprudent man, and his conduct speedily drove some of his most powerful subjects into rebellion. His only stay was Clive, whose wisdom saved him from the consequences of his own ill conduct. With all his defects, Meer Jaffier was not ungrateful to his benefactor: he procured from the court of Delhi the title

* A *zemindar* was a person who farmed the portion of the produce of the soil claimed by the crown. He paid a certain sum annually, but had no property in the soil.

of an Omrah for him ; and when Clive (1759), by marching his troops into Bahar, which had been invaded by the emperor's eldest son, had saved Meer Jaffier from the ruin which threatened him, that prince of his own free motion conferred on him a *jagheer*, or estate of three lacs of rupees a year, assigning for that purpose the quit-rent of the company's zemindary. Here again it may be asked, who can justly condemn Clive ?

In 1760 Clive returned to England. He was now only thirty-five years of age, and he was possessed of an income of more than 40,000*l.* a year. He received abundant marks of respect ; but his constitution was enfeebled, and he fell into a long and dangerous illness. He obtained a seat in parliament ; and by means of his money he brought several of his friends into the house of commons. He also obtained an Irish peerage. A very unwarrantable attempt to deprive him of his *jagheer* was soon, however, made by the court of directors, acting under the influence of their chairman, Mr. Sullivan ; for surely *they* could have no claim to it, and his right stood on precisely the same grounds as *theirs* to their zemindary. Though the highest legal authorities were against them, they persisted in withholding payment, and he was obliged to have recourse to a bill in chancery. But in 1764 such tidings came from India, that the safety of the British possessions in that country seemed to depend on his return to it ; and in a court of proprietors he was unanimously appointed governor-general of Bengal. He accepted the high office, and quitted England for the third and last time.

The affairs of the company in Bengal were now in a deplorable state in consequence of the unprincipled rapacity of its servants. "I shall only say," writes Clive after his arrival, "that such a scene of anarchy, confusion, corruption, and extortion was never seen or heard of in any country but Bengal ; nor such and so many fortunes acquired in so unjust and rapacious a manner." Elsewhere he says, "There are not five men of principle in the

whole settlement." It was at this time that England first beheld the spectacle of the return of the Nabobs, as they were called; men who, having quitted her shores perhaps penniless, revisited them in a few years gorged with wealth wrung from the natives of India, and displayed in the use or abuse of it the habits of pride, insolence, and luxury acquired in the East.

The modes by which these gentlemen acquired their wealth were various. The first and simplest was that of extorting contributions, as lord Clive says, "from every man of power and consequence, from the nabob down to the lowest zemindar." But much greater gains were made by trade. The emperor had granted a *firman*, by which goods under the company's flag and *dustuck*, or permit, should pass duty-free; but this was clearly understood to apply only to goods belonging to the company, and being either European goods for sale or native productions for export, and not to interfere with the internal trade of the country. The company, with that ill-judging parsimony into which such bodies sometimes fall, had given their servants paltry salaries, but had permitted them to trade on their own account; hence, when the power of the company had become paramount in Bengal, their servants there, from the highest to the lowest, resolved to employ it to their own private advantage. They insisted that the company's *dustuck* should cover all goods whatever; and they monopolized the trade in salt, betel-nut, and tobacco, the three articles of most importance in India; and the extortion of themselves and their *gomastahs*, or native agents, was ruinous to the country. It may easily be conceived what a task lord Clive had before him, to cleanse out such an Augean stable, and what opposition he had to encounter, not merely from Messrs. Leycester, Gray, Burdett, Johnstone, and others, members of council and prime offenders, but from even the lowest servants of the company.

The political transactions of this interval had been as follows. In 1760, Mr. Vansittart, Clive's successor, acting

under the influence of Mr. Holwell, who hated Meer Jaffier, concluded a treaty with Cossim Ali, that nabob's son-in-law, for his dethronement, by which the provinces of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, were to be made over to the company, and large rewards given to the members of council. This unjustifiable pact of spoliation was easily carried into effect. Meer Jaffier could make no resistance, and Cossim Ali became the nabob. But Mr. Vansittart, who is said to have been a well-meaning man, was no Clive; he was domineered over by an insolent, rapacious majority in the council, and he was completely mistaken in the character of Cossim Ali, who proved to be a man of considerable energy and of much financial ability. This prince first caused the English to lose consideration in the eyes of the people of India by seizing and putting to death Ram Narrain, the Hindoo governor of Patna, whom they had pledged themselves to protect; and then, in pursuance of his plans for re-establishing his finances, he resolved to put an end to their monopoly of trade and evasion of duties. He required that Mr. Ellis, a violent, rapacious man, who had always opposed him, should be removed from Patna; but the council sent Ellis orders to seize the citadel of that town, which orders were promptly obeyed, but Cossim retook the fort, and put Ellis and one hundred and fifty other Europeans to death. Fearing, then, the English, he fled to Sujah-ud-Dowla, vizir of Oude, who armed in his favour; but that prince was defeated at Buxar by major Munro, and was obliged to sue for peace.

The council now replaced Meer Jaffier on the *musnud*; and on his death, which occurred soon after, they raised to it his son Nujum-ud-Dowla, making him pay, of course, largely for his elevation; for money was the only object of these low-minded, sordid men.

Such was the state of affairs in Bengal when Clive landed (May 3, 1765). He remained in India about two years, during which period he effected reformations in both the civil and military departments, which perhaps he alone

could have accomplished. His suppression of the conspiracy, into which not less than two hundred of the European officers had entered, to resist the reduction of the double *batta*, or pay, first given them by Meer Jaffier, is justly regarded as one of the greatest actions of his life. It was also at this time that the English became the real sovereigns of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, as Clive obtained for the company from the emperor a *dewanee*, or deed empowering them to collect the revenues of those provinces. Out of them were to be paid, to the emperor twenty-six lacs a year, to the nabob fifty-three lacs; and Clive computed that there would remain to the company an annual surplus of one hundred and twenty-two lacs, or 1,650,000*l*.

To conclude the history of this great man. He was received with all due honours on his return to England; but he had soon to encounter the bitter hostility of Johnstone and the other persons whom he had made his foes in India, and who now, by large purchases of stock, were become powerful in the court of proprietors, where they joined with the Sullivan-party. They also, by means of the newspapers and of pamphlets, kept up a constant discharge on him. At length, in 1773, at a time when the affairs of India much occupied the attention of parliament, colonel Burgoyne, a political adventurer (the future hero of Saratoga), as chairman of the Select Committee for inquiry into the affairs of the company, moved a resolution that lord Clive, in the affair of the deposition of Suraj-ud-Dowla, had "abused the powers with which he was entrusted, to the evil example of the servants of the company, and to the dishonour and detriment of the state." Lord Clive, in the course of the debate, made a noble defence of the whole of his conduct in India. He concluded by saying, "I have one request to make to the house; that, when they come to decide on my honour, they will not forget their own." On a division, the clause condemnatory of

lord Clive was omitted; and it was finally resolved that he had received the sum of 234,000*l.*, but at the same time he had rendered great and meritorious services to his country.

The proud spirit of Clive, it is said, never recovered the shock of being thus dragged like a culprit to the bar of his country; but, though it preyed on his mind, it cannot justly be regarded as the immediate cause of his death. The founder of the British empire in India died, as is well known, by his own hand (Nov. 22, 1774), at the age of forty-nine. He was originally of a nervous, melancholy temperament; his liver had long been deranged, and his fits of illness were frequent. It was in a paroxysm of bodily pain, caused by gall-stones, that he committed the fatal deed. Now that the clouds of malignity have passed away, his name justly ranks among those most illustrious in English history.

We now resume the affairs of the company. The great acquisitions made by lord Clive produced attacks on their revenue from two parties, the proprietors and the government. The former, insisting on their right to the advantages, voted themselves dividends of 10 and 12½ per cent.; the latter claimed all the territory that had been acquired, but compromised the matter for the present for 400,000*l.* a year. But the affairs of the company were not by any means in the flourishing condition that was supposed; and they were obliged to apply, ere long, for a loan of a million and a half. Two committees, named the 'Secret' and the 'Select,' had been appointed to inquire into their affairs. A new arrangement of the court of directors took place; the qualification for voting in the court of proprietors was raised; a court of justice, consisting of a chief and three puisne judges appointed by the crown, was to supersede the mayor's court at Calcutta; the governor of Bengal was to have the superiority over the other presidencies. Warren Hastings, Esq., a gentleman who had long been in India,

was appointed the first governor-general, with general Clavering, colonel Monson, and Messrs. Barwell and Francis as his counsellors (1773).

Mr. Hastings had gone out in the preceding year as governor of Bengal, where he was to restore the company's finances, and at the same time establish a fortune for himself. In accomplishing these objects, it is not to be denied that he displayed abilities of a very high order, but it is equally true that deeds were enacted revolting to justice and humanity. To enter into the details in our restricted limits is, however, a matter that cannot be expected; we can only undertake to sketch those acts which were most notorious.

The giving up the people named Rohillas to Sujah-ud-Dowla, the tyrannical vizir of Oude, was the first of these acts. Rohilcund, which lies northwards of Oude, was, from the prudence of its ruler, in a state of high prosperity. Owing to an invasion of the Mahrattas, the Rohillas found it expedient to form an alliance with the vizir; and that rapacious prince instantly resolved to make himself master of their country. On his engaging to pay the company forty lacs of rupees, if successful, and allow their troops a certain sum a month, Mr. Hastings ordered colonel Campion to join his forces with those of the vizir for the invasion of Rohilcund. The Rohillas made a brave but ineffectual defence. The cowardly, atrocious vizir, whose declared object was their extermination, was let loose to glut his malignity on them; and the barbarities enacted were declared by colonel Campion to be in many instances beyond description. As the emperor had placed himself under the protection of the Mahrattas, Mr. Hastings withheld the portion of the revenues of Bengal allotted to him by Clive; and he sold to the vizir of Oude for fifty lacs the provinces of Allahabad and Corah, which lord Clive had secured to the emperor.

The arrival of the members of the council from Europe (Oct. 1774) put a check on the excesses of Mr. Hastings,

as he and his friend Mr. Barwell were on all occasions outvoted by the other three. The council-board was a scene of constant altercation; and Mr. Hastings was so galled at finding himself continually thwarted, that in the year 1777 he authorised Mr. Maclean, who was returning to Europe, to tender his resignation to the directors. It was accepted, and Mr. Wheeler was appointed to succeed him. But ere the intelligence reached Bengal, the death of colonel Monson had given Mr. Hastings the supremacy in the council, and he now disavowed his agent, refused to resign, and seemed determined to retain his power by force of arms, if needful. His opponents declined the contest, and he again began to run his despotic career uncontrolled, and to undo all that had been done of late against his wishes or interest. A quarrel in 1780, between him and Mr. Francis, whom he accused of breach of promise, terminated in a duel, in which the latter was wounded. His immediate return to Europe left Mr. Hastings unfettered, and the effect was soon visible in the results of the governor's journey to the Upper Provinces.

Since the year 1764 the rajah of Benares (the great seat of Hindoo devotion) had been under the protection of the English. In 1774, the rajah, Cheyte Sing, was relieved from all dependence on the vizir of Oude, and he was to pay a fixed tribute to the company; and it was unanimously resolved by the council, that while he performed his engagements "no more demands of any kind should be made on him, nor any person be allowed to interfere with his authority." The rajah paid his tribute regularly till the time of what Mr. Hastings is pleased to term "the attempt to wrest from him his authority;" in other words, to carry the orders of the directors into effect, in June, 1777. At that time Mr. Hastings found that Cheyte Sing had deputed a person to general Clavering, his opponent, and he secretly resolved to make him feel his vengeance. He forthwith began to make requisitions on him. A present of two lacs, in 1781, did not suffice to mollify the governor.

The exactions were increased ; the reluctance to submit to them was termed a crime, and was to be made the pretext for robbing the rajah. "I was resolved," says Mr. Hastings, "to draw from his guilt the means of relief to the company's distresses. I had determined to make him pay largely for his pardon, or to exact a severe vengeance for his past delinquency." With this righteous object in view, Mr. Hastings, in 1781, proceeded to Benares. He placed the rajah under arrest ; but the people, to whom he and his father had been mild and upright rulers, rose and massacred his guards, and he made his escape to a fortified palace on the other side of the river, and the troops sent to assault it were repulsed with loss. The whole district rose in revolt ; the contagion spread to Oude and Bahar. Mr. Hastings was obliged to fly by night to the fortress of Chunar. All the supplications of the rajah for peace were, however, rejected with scorn. When troops arrived, his hasty levies were easily routed, and he fled from the fort of Bidgegur, taking with him his treasures, and leaving in it his mother, the Rannee (whose residence it was), his wife, and the rest of his family. The Rannee endeavoured to make terms, but Mr. Hastings would only grant safety and respect for her person ; and in his letter to major Popham, who commanded, he said, "I apprehend that she will contrive to defraud the captors of a considerable part of the booty by being suffered to *retire without examination* ; but this is your consideration, and not mine." This hint was not lost on the soldiery ; the capitulation was broken ; the Rannee and the other women, to the number of three hundred, were plundered, and their persons rudely treated by the soldiers and camp-followers, in spite of the efforts of major Popham.

The plunder after all amounted only to twenty-three millions of rupees, and the troops, interpreting the above passage of the governor's letter in their own favour, claimed it all as their prize-money ; they would not even lend it to the company, to whose burdens Mr. Hastings's attempt at

robbery thus added the expenses incurred by the revolt. The directors strongly reprobated his conduct in this affair.

Disappointed in his hopes of plunder at Benares, the governor turned his view to Oude. The vizir visited him at Chunar, and it was arranged that he should be relieved from the burden of a heavy number of British troops, of which he had long complained, and be allowed to resume any *jagheers* which the company had not guaranteed. This was apparently very moderate and reasonable ; but it contained a deep scheme of spoliation.

The Begums, as they are named, that is, the grandmother and mother of the vizir, were in possession of extensive *jagheers* assigned them by his father, who had also left them the greater part of his treasures. They resided at Fyzabad with the numerous families of the late vizirs, which they were bound to support, and they managed, according to custom, their *jagheers* by their own agents. They had often already had large sums extorted from them by the vizir ; but the governor now resolved to make him the instrument of robbing them of all they possessed, under pretence (mere pretence) of their having encouraged the people of Oude to aid the insurrection of Cheyte Sing. The vizir, bad as he was, scrupled to act in such a business ; but when he found that Mr. Middleton, the resident, was authorised to proceed without him, to keep up his consequence in the eyes of his subjects he issued the warrants required of him, and he and Middleton appeared before Fyzabad at the head of a body of troops ; and, after some time spent in negotiation, the town was stormed, but without bloodshed, as there was no resistance. There was a difficulty, however, in getting at the treasure, as the *zenanas*, or women's apartments, are sacred over all the East ; from a passage indeed in one of Mr. Hastings's letters, it would appear that it would have been no difficulty to *him* ; but it was to the nabob and resident. A plan however was devised ; two eunuchs, men of venerable age, the confidential servants of the princesses, were seized, laid in

irons, kept without food, and tortured in other ways, to work on the compassion of their mistresses, and the diabolical plan succeeded; for upwards of 500,000*l.* was thus extracted from the Begums, though they had to give up for sale even their table-utensils. They had themselves, in the interval, been often in danger of starvation from want of food.

On this occasion Mr. Hastings no doubt made money for his masters; he also took care of his own interest. The vizir, in the midst of his embarrassments, found money for a present of ten lacs to the governor. As it was now forbidden to accept gifts, and the present one could not be concealed, Mr. Hastings informed the directors of it, at the same time asking permission to retain it.

Space does not admit of our noticing any more of the acts of this eminent man. He left India, after a reign of twelve years, in 1785. He had raised the revenue to double its previous amount; but he had added twelve and a half millions to the debt of the company. It is said that he was popular at all times in India, as well with natives as Europeans. In the case of the former, his popularity was probably much increased by the attention he paid to the literature of the country, having been one of the first servants of the company who sought to acquire a knowledge of the eastern languages. On his return to his native shore, a trial which perhaps he had not anticipated awaited him. The splendid eloquence of Burke, Fox, Sheridan, and others, displayed in such appalling colours his various enormities, that the house of commons resolved on his impeachment, and his trial commenced on the 13th of February, 1788; the managers for the commons being Messrs. Burke, Fox, Sheridan, Grey, and others. It was on the 23rd of April, 1795, that judgement was at length given in favour of the prisoner—to such a length had the process been spun out by the artifices chiefly of Hastings's counsel, headed by Law afterwards lord Ellenborough; for, unlike a man who, conscious of innocence, disdains all

subterfuge and dares his adversaries to do their utmost, Mr. Hastings had recourse to every quirk that legal subtilty could devise for the suppression of evidence. It would almost seem as if his noble judges were predetermined to acquit him, for they did everything that he could have wished; they rejected evidence continually, and guided themselves by the narrowest maxims of the inferior courts. The Indian interest, as it was named, was powerful, the highest family in the realm interested itself for the culprit, the managers were not always discreet, the length of the proceedings caused many to regard the accused as a persecuted man, the press was engaged in his favour, his money went in all directions, the French revolution came to absorb the public attention; in short, he was acquitted: but no one, we believe, who reads his deeds, not merely in the fervid declamations of Burke, but in the calm pages of history, will hold him guiltless—unless he be prepared to assert that the retention of empire justifies every crime. As to impeachment, it is now little more than a judicial drama, such changes having taken place in the constitution and in the habits and feelings of the nation as render it quite impotent.

During this period the affairs of the company in the presidency of Madras also offer much to interest. The same career of oppression and injustice was run there as in Bengal, and the treatment of the rajah of Tanjore was worthy of Hastings himself. The nabob of Arcot, his intrigues and his debts, the deeds of the notorious Paul Benfield and others, attracted the attention of the British legislature. When lord Pigot, the governor, attempted reformation, he was actually placed under arrest by the insolent, rapacious men who formed the majority in the council. His successor, sir Thomas Rumbold, followed a different course, and in little more than two years he was able to remit to Europe 164,000*l.*, though his salary, etc. did not exceed 20,000*l.* a year. The directors, however, dismissed him and some others from their service.

The external operations of this presidency were, war with the French, in which Pondicherry was taken, and with Hyder Ali, the prince of Mysore, who overran the Carnatic and dictated peace under the walls of Madras.

The affairs of India, as we have seen, had attracted the attention of parliament, and various measures were proposed respecting them. At length in 1783, during the short sway of the coalition-ministry, Mr. Fox brought forward his celebrated East India Bill, in the preparation of which Mr. Burke had a large share. In this it was proposed to do away with the courts of directors and proprietors, in whose room were to be seven commissioners, named by parliament, who were to have the administration of all the affairs of the company, and the sole power of placing and displacing its servants. They were themselves to be removeable only by the king on the address of either house. A court of nine assistant-directors, being proprietors, each of not less than 2000*l.* of India stock, also chosen by the legislature, were to manage the details of the company's affairs under the superior board. The bill contained a number of other regulations.

The outcry raised against this project is well known. The private character of its author was very irregular ; he was a notorious gambler ; the coalition which, in violation of all principle, he had formed with lord North made him to be regarded as equally devoid of public as of private morality ; and every measure proceeding from him was viewed with suspicion. The East India company and the city of London petitioned against the bill, Mr. Pitt exposed its apparent evils with his usual ability, but it passed the commons by a majority of two to one. In the lords it was strenuously opposed, among others by lord Camden ; and earl Temple in a private conference with the king so impressed him with an idea of its tendency to limit the prerogative, that he received permission to assure the peers privately that his majesty would regard as his enemy any

one who voted for it. The bill was therefore rejected, and the king dismissed his ministers.

The following year Mr. Pitt introduced *his* East India Bill, which was passed; in 1786 it was amended by an explanatory act, and it continues to be the fundamental law of the Anglo-Indian empire. Its chief feature is the introduction of the Board of Control, composed of six members of the privy council, named by the king (of whom the chancellor of the exchequer and one of the secretaries of state were always to be two), to whom the court of directors were to communicate all their correspondence respecting the government of their territories, and to whose control they were to be subject.

It is curious to observe how the character of the advocate will cause the adoption or rejection of nearly the same measure. The great alarm caused by Mr. Fox's bill was the enormous power it would give the minister, by investing him with the Indian patronage; and who, it may be asked, possesses that patronage now but the minister? * Have the court of directors any more freedom in choosing a governor-general or any other great officer in India than the clergy of a cathedral in electing their bishop? The president of the board of control, is, in fact, secretary for Indian affairs, and his authority is as great in his department as that of his brother secretaries, only that he has to exercise it in a more circuitous manner. There is just the same scope for patronage and favouritism, and, it may be observed by the way, that like too many other ministers of state, the president sometimes enters on his office with a most profound ignorance of the condition of the empire whose affairs he is to direct. But these evils are unavoidable; such extensive patronage must of necessity fall into the hands of the executive.

* There was this difference however, that the minor patronage has by Pitt's bill been left to the directors, by whom it is said to be very fairly administered.

The first governor-general sent out under the new constitution was the marquess Cornwallis ; and ever since, that high office has been, with one or two exceptions, consigned to a nobleman connected with the party in power at home. No better choice could have been made at the time, for the noble marquess possessed every estimable, and many a great quality. He was successful in a war with Tippoo Sahib, the successor of Hyder Ali. An extensive system of financial and judicial reform, or rather change, was effected under the administration of this nobleman, but its consequences proved widely different from the sanguine anticipations of its authors. This is in a great measure to be ascribed to their ignorance of the feelings, habits, prejudices, and institutions of those for whom they were legislating, and to the unconscious application of European principles and analogies to a state of society so totally different from that of Europe.

CHAPTER V.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED).

1789—1802.

The French revolution;—its effect in England.—War with France.—Lord Howe's victory.—Mutiny in the navy.—Battles of St. Vincent and Camperdown.—State of Ireland.—United Irishmen.—Irish rebellion.—Union with Ireland.—Battle of the Nile;—of Copenhagen;—of Alexandria.—Peace of Amiens.

WE are now arrived at the most awful and important period in the history of man; a period, when a nation of slaves, acting under the impulse of men, some of philanthropic but unenlightened views and of inexperience in the great science of politics, but others devoid of principle and seeking only for change, in the hope of profiting in the confusion, flung off the bonds of ages, and madly plunged into the chaos of turbulence and anarchy. The French Revolution, of which we now speak, burst forth like a moral volcano, shaking the stability of the most ancient thrones, overwhelming justice, law and equity, in its career, and after involving Europe in a calamitous war of nearly a quarter-century, terminated in the national humiliation of the conquest of France by those monarchs who had felt her insolence and suffered by her power in the days of her strength.

To narrate the events of this revolution would be beside our purpose. Suffice it to say, that it owed its origin to the absurd privileges of the nobility and their galling insolence; to the heavy and unequal weight of taxation laid on the unprivileged classes; to the corruption and profligacy of the court; to the enormous wealth and often scandalous lives of the superior clergy; to the writings of the so-styled

philosophers which sapped the foundations of religion and morality ; to the short-sighted policy of the government, who, out of mean jealousy of England, encouraged the revolt of her colonies, and sent their troops to receive the revolutionary infection, and to other causes which we need not enumerate. Its atrocities, not to be paralleled, arose from the natural character of the French people, of which a part is intense selfishness and the absence of moral courage* ; for the coward is cruel, and the moral coward, it would seem, even more than so than the physical one. In every event of the revolution, in every character, from the king down to the lowest ruffian of the Fauxbourgs, the influence of this last principle may be traced. Men were dragged like sheep to the guillotine ; they died like heroes ; but they had not the mental energy to combine and crush, as they might, by well-directed efforts, the ferocious bandits by whom they were slaughtered. Above all deserving of contempt and execration were the nobles, whose insolence had been a chief cause of the evil, but who in the moment of agony abandoned their king, and fled by thousands to seek the aid of foreign powers, instead of boldly facing the demon of discord at home, and crushing it by efforts of united energy, justice, and patriotism. How different was the conduct of the English nobility and gentry in the struggles of the seventeenth century ! But herein lies the great difference of the national characters ; and if the British aristocracy is fated to fall beneath the tyranny of democracy, (which God avert !) it will fall, we may be confident, without dishonour.

In England, the progress of the French revolution was viewed with different eyes by different men. There is a class of people who are easily beguiled by specious terms ; to these the word *liberty* came associated with visions of social happiness and national blessings. They viewed in the revolution of France the commencement of a golden

* Hence their adoption of the ballot in elections and in the votes of their legislature.

age, the return of Astræa to earth, the dawn of the day which would shed peace and tranquillity over the whole earth. But there were others who were anxious to convert the balanced constitution of England into a pure democracy; and there was that profligate class to be found in all countries, who devoid alike of religion, morals, and property, rejoice in the prospect of going a-wrecking in the political tempest. It was chiefly among the dissenters that the members of the first two classes were to be found; they had always a strong leaven of republicanism in their body; they had shown it openly since the commencement of the American war; and we may safely predict, that if ever England becomes a democratic republic, *they* will be active agents in the change*.

On the other hand, the whole tory party viewed the revolution with unmingled horror and disgust. They soon found themselves joined by an ally in the cause of true liberty and the constitution, whose powers in such a cause were without a parallel. Edmund Burke, to whom, on this occasion, his very prejudices combined with his profound study of history in a philosophic spirit to give the vision of a prophet respecting the ultimate effects of the political changes now going on in France, early denounced them as fraught with ruin to the civilized world. When parliament met in February 1790, Mr. Fox, in the spirit of party, pronounced a eulogy on the proceedings in France, commend-

* Among these the Unitarians were most prominent. Dr. Priestley, a man of virtue, but of too multifarious pursuits, who would fain unite in his person the chemist, the divine, the statesman, etc., distinguished himself by his absurd predictions of the millennium to commence with the French revolution. Dr. Price, another most excellent man, was also led away by his imagination; and it almost chills one's blood to think of him in his pulpit, when preaching before the Revolution Society, of which he was an active member, saying, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation," in allusion to the noted 6th of October. If lord Clarendon's remark of clergymen, that they "understand the least and take the worst measure of human affairs of all mankind that can write and read," be correct, we may say that it applies with peculiar force to dissenting teachers, whose education and habits of life tend greatly to disqualify them for the discussion of political questions.

ing among other things the dishonourable revolt of the French guards. The house expressed strong indignation at such language, and a few days after (9th) Mr. Burke, having adverted to the danger of such opinions going forth sanctioned by so great a name, proceeded to animadvert on the revolution. "The French," said he, "have shown themselves the ablest architects of ruin that have hitherto appeared in the world; in one short summer they have pulled down their monarchy, their church, their nobility, their law, their army, and their revenue." "Our present danger," he added, "is that of being led from admiration to imitate the excesses of a people, whose government is anarchy, whose religion is atheism." He reprobated the comparison between that event and the revolution in England; he said he never loved despotism in any land, but there was a despotism more dreadful than that of any monarch of a civilized people—that "of an unprincipled, ferocious, tyrannical democracy; of a democracy which had not a single virtue of republicanism to redeem its crimes. This was so far from being worthy of imitation, as had been said by his honourable friend, that it was worthy of all abhorrence; and he would spend the last drop of his blood, would quit his best friends, and join his most avowed enemies, to oppose the least influence of such a spirit in England." Mr. Burke had now taken his ground for life; it was plain that a schism must ensue in the whig-party. Sheridan inveighed against, Fox tried to soothe, the excited orator; but the breach had commenced, and on the 16th of May in the following year, Mr. Burke, in presence of the house, renounced the friendship of Mr. Fox, and their connexion terminated for ever. With Burke, the duke of Portland, earls Spencer and Fitzwilliam, lord Grenville, Mr. Windham, and other whigs who preferred their country to their party, seceded from it, and gave their support to the minister.

By the publication of his immortal *Reflections on the Revolution*, and by other writings as well as speeches, Mr.

Burke rendered most essential services to his country in exposing the arts of the French demagogues to public view*. Dr. Priestley and other revolutionists vainly attempted to reply. The Rights of Man, by Thomas Paine, was the work among them which was best calculated to poison the minds of the lower people, being written with much ability and adapted to their comprehension; even at the present day it continues its deleterious operation. The *Vindiciæ Gallicæ* of Mr. (afterwards sir James) Mackintosh attempted also the defence of the revolutionists of France and their admirers in this country. But the nature of this writer was too generous and humane, his love of liberty too pure, for him long to remain under an illusion in which the warmth of his feelings and imagination had involved him. The "admiration," to use his own expressions, "due to splendid exertions of virtue and of triumph, inspired by widening prospects of happiness," and the vision of regenerated France "seeking a new glory and a new splendour under the shadow of freedom in cultivating the arts of peace and extending the happiness of mankind,"—vanished before the appalling realities of the Reign of Terror; and the virtuous author became a convert to him whose arguments he had so vigorously combated.

The admirers of the French revolution in many of the great towns of England, having resolved to celebrate the 14th of July, the anniversary of the destruction of the Bastille, a party of about eighty or ninety persons met for that purpose at Birmingham†; but the house in which they were assembled was surrounded by a riotous mob, hissing, groaning and shouting 'Church and King!' They at length broke in, but the company had prudently di-

* While thus praising these writings of Mr. Burke, we do not by any means assent to all the principles which they contain.

† The president was Mr. Keir, a man distinguished for his attainments in chemistry and natural science. As far as our observation has extended, men of science make most wretched politicians; worse than even lawyers and manufacturers.

persed. In their rage they then burned two dissenting chapels and the house of Dr. Priestley, whose books, manuscripts and chemical apparatus all perished in the conflagration. They then attacked and burned the houses of some other dissenters. The riot lasted for three days; seventeen persons were tried, and three executed for their share in it. Dr. Priestley retired to the United States, where he had an opportunity of seeing that monarchy may be abolished, aristocracy proscribed, religion left to its own resources, and yet all the blessings which his imagination had conceived not be realised.

The desire, or the pretence, of parliamentary reform gave origin to numerous clubs or societies, such as that of the Friends of the People and the London Corresponding Society. Mr. Grey, a member of the former, having given notice (Apr. 1792) that he would move for an inquiry into the state of the representation, Mr. Pitt, formerly the strenuous advocate of the measure, rose and opposed it in the most decided terms. Mr. Fox, of course, seized the occasion of charging the minister with inconsistency: but Mr. Pitt knew, and Mr. Fox could not deny, that a great number of Mr. Grey's allies were violent republicans, who, under the pretext of reform, aimed at anarchy and revolution, and that therefore this was no time to bring this question into discussion, and give Mr. Fox, Mr. Grey, and their friends an opportunity of inflaming the public mind by their harangues.

In fact, when we view at this time the conduct of the party led by Mr. Fox, and consider the turn which affairs had taken in France and the extent to which republicanism had spread itself in England, we must either regard them as very short-sighted politicians, or as men actuated by factious and selfish objects, and heedless of the real welfare of their country. In the course of the year Mr. Fox gave a most extraordinary instance of the lengths to which he would go in order to thwart the minister. Mr. Pitt, with the prescience of a statesman, fathoming the ambitious

views of Russia, was anxious to preserve the Turkish empire as a counterpoise to it. With this view he had wished to prevent Russia from obtaining the fortress of Oczakow in a late treaty between her and the Porte. Mr. Fox, not content with making every opposition in his power to the minister at home, actually despatched Mr. Adair as his own ambassador and with his cypher to St. Petersburg, to encourage the empress to persist in her demands. By this, which Burke justly termed "a most unconstitutional act, and a highly treasonable misdemeanour," Mr. Fox hoped to upset the ministry and make his own way to power: but he failed in his object, and Mr. Pitt had the magnanimity to pass the matter over without inquiry.

The policy of Mr. Pitt toward France had been hitherto that of strict neutrality; but it soon became manifest that the policy of the atrocious faction which now lorded it in that country would be aggressive and revolutionising. On the 19th of November, 1792, the National Convention decreed that "it would grant fraternity and assistance to all people who wish to recover their liberty;" *i. e.* to rise in rebellion against their government. In the course of this month addresses from the Revolution Society of London and other societies in Great Britain and Ireland, deeply impregnated with revolutionary principles, had been presented to the convention, whose president openly boasted that "these respectable islanders, once our masters in the social art, have now become our disciples; and, treading in our steps, soon will the high-spirited English strike a blow which shall resound to the extremities of Asia." At the same time (16th), the French, who had now conquered the Netherlands, ordered their general to open the navigation of the Scheldt, which by the Peace of Westphalia was to be for ever closed, and they had committed aggressions on the Dutch, who were in alliance with England. An angry correspondence ensued between the English ministry and the French ambassador. At length the execrable murder of the innocent Louis XVI. took place (Jan.

21, 1793), and the French envoy, M. Chauvelin, was ordered to quit London; on the 25th it was proposed in the Convention to invade England with forty thousand men, and on the 3rd of February war was declared against Great Britain.

The king had sent a message to the house of commons on the 28th of January, calling on them to enable him to resist the ambitious views of France. Mr. Pitt with his usual ability developed the grounds on which he proposed an address in accordance with the royal message. Mr. Fox, supported by lord Wycomb and Mr. Whitbread, opposed as usual; but the address was carried without a division. The separation between the old and new whigs was now complete and final; the former became among the most strenuous supporters of the war; the latter sank into a powerless faction, continually indulging their spleen by thwarting and opposing the measures which they could not prevent.

On the policy of the war, opinions were then, and still are, divided; but surely any one who peruses the history of those times with care must see that it was inevitable. It was productive of ruinous expense to England; but it probably saved her from the curse of democracy. It was easy for Mr. Fox to declaim against it while in opposition and irresponsible; but it has well been asked, could Mr. Fox, if minister, have avoided a war? To this we would reply most decidedly in the negative.

In the course of the year treaties were formed with most of the continental powers, both great and small, and a confederacy was organised against France, which had it been directed by wisdom, animated by zeal, controlled by unanimity, and conducted by military skill, might have saved Europe from years of misery. But all these qualities were wanting. Mr. Pitt, with all his great qualities, was not, like his father, a superior war-minister; he lavished with reckless profusion, in subsidies to treacherous or lukewarm allies, the sums which his financial skill enabled him to

Great Britain. The great increase of the taxes caused discontent; the menaces of invasion by the French republic terrified timid and selfish people, who, anxious to hoard their cash against times of danger, made a run on the Bank, already drained of its specie for the remittances to the continent. To avert the evil, cash-payments were prohibited by an order of council, and acts were afterwards passed making Bank-of-England notes to a certain extent a legal tender, and legalising the issue of small notes by private persons. The country was speedily inundated with paper-money; rents, prices, and everything rose, and a delusive air of prosperity spread over the empire; and thus while England was actually year after year destroying large masses of her capital, she seemed to be growing richer every day.

But the pressing and imminent danger this year was the mutiny in the channel- and North-sea fleets, occasioned by that inattention to the wants and comforts of the lower classes of which governments are but too often guilty. It took place in the following manner.

Though prices had risen considerably in this century, the pay and allowances of the seamen remained the same as in the reign of Charles II., and their rations were actually not sufficient for their complete nourishment. The sailors of late had made their complaints in anonymous letters addressed to lord Howe; but their 'father,' as they styled him, treated them with neglect. At length (Apr. 15) when lord Bridport, who commanded the channel-fleet at Spithead, made the signal to prepare for sailing, the crews of all the ships replied by three cheers, and declared that they would not weigh anchor till their just demands were complied with, "unless the enemy's fleet should put to sea." They appointed delegates from each ship, who held their meetings in the admiral's cabin on board lord Howe's own ship, the *Queen Charlotte*. On the 22nd, lord Bridport returned to his ship, the *Royal George*, and acquainted the crew that he was authorised to comply with all their de-

mands. The men declared themselves satisfied, and the fleet dropped down to St. Helens. But on the 7th of May, when ordered to prepare for sailing, they again refused, alleging that government did not intend to keep faith with them. They appointed their delegates to meet on board the *London*, the ship of vice-admiral Colpoys; but that officer caused the marines to fire, and five of the seamen were killed. They seized and imprisoned the admiral and his officers and afterwards sent them on shore, and several of the other ships' crews treated their officers in a similar manner. On the 14th lord Howe came to Portsmouth with full powers to settle all matters, and an act of parliament lately passed in compliance with the desires of the sailors. The crews returned to their duty, the delegates had the honour of dining with the earl and his lady, and on the 17th the fleet put to sea.

The mutiny in the channel-fleet had hardly been appeased when one of a much more unjustifiable character broke out in the fleet at the Nore, joined by four ships from the North-sea fleet under admiral Duncan in *Yarmouth-roads*. They struck the flag of admiral Buckner in the *Sandwich*, and gave the command to one of the seamen named Richard Parker, a man of resolute character and of considerable ability. They blockaded the mouth of the river and allowed no merchantmen to come up; the greatest terror prevailed in the capital, and the three per cents fell to $47\frac{1}{2}$. The mutinous fleet consisted of thirteen sail of the line, beside frigates, etc.; but the desertion of the *Clyde* and two frigates damped the spirits of the mutineers, and most of them began to show great attention to their officers who were in confinement. To prevent their retreat, all the buoys had been taken up; the forts at *Tilbury*, *Gravesend*, and *Sheerness* were put in repair, and furnaces set up for heating shot, and ships were coming down to attack them. Some of the more desperate proposed to carry the fleet over to the enemy; but this was rejected with indignation. The ships now rapidly deserted, and on the 13th of June

the Sandwich hauled down Parker's red flag, and the mutiny was ended. Parker, a man worthy of a better fate, was tried by a court-martial, and sentenced to be hanged. He met his doom with piety and fortitude, acknowledging the justice of his sentence; a few more of the delegates were executed, the rest were pardoned. By the agreement with the fleet at Spithead the seamen's pay was raised; and the government, fearing a similar mutiny in the army, soon after voluntarily raised that of the soldiers from sixpence to a shilling a day.

This year was distinguished by two important naval victories. On the 14th of February, sir John Jervis, with only fifteen sail of the line, engaged off Cape St. Vincent a Spanish fleet of twenty-seven sail, of which he captured four. In this action the gallant Nelson was the most conspicuous character, and he here laid the foundation of his future glory. The admiral was created earl St. Vincent, with a pension of 3000*l.* a year. Nelson received the order of the Bath.

Admiral Duncan, with the North-sea fleet, was stationed off the coast of Holland, to watch a fleet in the Texel destined for the invasion of Ireland. A storm having driven him to Yarmouth-roads, the Dutch government ordered their admiral, De Winter, to put to sea. Duncan having gotten information, returned, and he found (Oct. 11) the enemy's fleet of fifteen sail of the line and frigates off Camperdown, about nine miles from the shore. His own fleet, consisting of sixteen sail of the line beside frigates, had the advantage in weight of metal, and he boldly resolved to place himself between the enemy and the shore. The action lasted four hours: the Dutch fought with their usual obstinate valour; but they were defeated with the loss of nine ships and two frigates, and their marine was destroyed for ever. Admiral Duncan was raised to the peerage by the title of viscount Duncan of Camperdown, with a pension of 3000*l.* a year.

The rebellion in Ireland, which the fleet of Holland was

intended to aid, broke out in the following year. We will briefly trace its origin and progress.

After the termination of the contest at the time of the Revolution, the Irish protestants proceeded, in violation of the spirit if not the letter of the treaty of Limerick, to protect themselves against the catholics by a penal code, equaling, or rather exceeding in severity, the English laws against recusants. Barbarous, however, as this code was in the statute-book, it was tolerably mild in practice, and the chief disadvantages which the catholics felt were, exclusion from office and the legal profession, and the inability to acquire landed property*. The protestants themselves suffered from the jealous monopolising spirit of the English merchants and manufacturers, at whose clamour laws were passed destructive of their industry and commerce. Then too, that fruitful cause of Ireland's misery, the universal use of the potato for food, attained its full extent; and the most wretched peasantry on the face of the earth met the eye of the traveller in Ireland.

The duration of the Irish parliament, instead of being triennial, or septennial like that of England, was for the life of the king. The lord-lieutenant was not constantly resident; the government was mostly confided to the primate, the chancellor, and the speaker of the house of commons, as lords-justices; and some leading families, such as the Fitzgeralds, the Boyles, the Ponsonbys, and others under the title of *Undertakers*, managed the public affairs in the parliament; which assembly, however, by what was termed Poyning's law, could not initiate any measure, being only empowered to accept or reject such as were proposed to it by the government after having been approved of by the privy-council in England. Powerless as the parliament was, there was however gradually growing up

* The landed estates of the catholics were usually held for them by protestant trustees. A poor protestant barber in the town of Mallow thus held nearly all the real property of the catholics of the county of Cork, and his honour and fidelity in his trust were unimpeachable.

in it a patriotic party in opposition to the government and the undertakers, and it increased in strength by the contest between the last two for the patronage, that is, for the places and pensions; for the whole system of government was one of the most barefaced corruption. In 1767, the lord-lieutenant, lord Townshend, became resident, and he succeeded in reducing the oligarchy; but he failed in securing the English ascendancy. The American war gave a great advantage to the patriotic party, more especially when in 1779 most of the troops were withdrawn from the country; and the English ministry, on being applied to for protection by the maritime towns, informed the Irish nation that it must protect itself. The protestants instantly formed themselves into a kind of national guard, under the name of Volunteers. Having arms in their hands, they soon obtained freedom of foreign trade; but their great object was to have the independence of their parliament acknowledged by that of Great Britain. On the 15th of February, 1782, a convention of delegates from the different corps of volunteers met at Dungannon in Ulster, and passed a number of resolutions in furtherance of that object; the Irish parliament took its tone from the convention, and the successors of lord North cheerfully repealed the act of the sixth of George I. "for securing the dependence of Ireland." The Irish nation was profuse in its gratitude to Henry Grattan, the great leader of the patriots in the commons: numerous addresses were made, and the hackneyed title 'Saviour of his country' was given to him; but the vote of 50,000*l.* by parliament, to purchase him a house and lands, was a more substantial proof of their sense of his merits.

Now commenced the brilliant, but meteoric career of the Irish legislature. In Grattan, Flood, Burgh, and other orators, it exhibited fervid and splendid effusions of eloquence, of a nature almost peculiar to Ireland; but political science and legislative wisdom were absent: the mental horizon of the orators was bounded; they could only dis-

cern Ireland and her local interests, they could not extend their view over the whole empire. There was danger every moment of a collision between the two legislatures, and the principal tie which held them was the unblushing venality of a great portion of that of Ireland. All really wise statesmen saw the absolute necessity for an incorporating union.

But Ireland is not a soil in which wisdom thrives spontaneously. There was a set of men who, regarding as a model the new state of America, and undismayed by the horrors sanctioned by the abused name of liberty in France, wished to convert Ireland into a democratic republic. These men, who were mostly protestant dissenters of Ulster, formed in the winter of 1791 the society of United Irishmen, "for the purpose," as they expressed it, "of forwarding a brotherhood of affection, a communion of rights, and a union of power amongst Irishmen of every religious persuasion, and thereby to obtain a complete reform in the legislature, founded on the principles of civil, political, and religious liberty." Their plan of reform was to the following effect: the kingdom was to be divided into three hundred equal electorates, each to return a member to the parliament, which was to be annual; the members were to receive stipends, and no property-qualification was to be required; every man of sound mind and of the full age of twenty-one was to have a vote in the electorate in which he resided, his vote to be given *by voice and not by ballot**. It is pretty clear that where such was the parliament there could be no monarchy. But these misguided men could not see that, with such a population as Ireland contained, their republic was an impossibility; the great mass of the people were catholics, and in the lowest state of mental degradation; and it was to these that, in case of a separation from England, the real power must come. The only notion of liberty the lower Irish catholics ever have had, is

* This last clause does them some credit; they were enthusiasts, and they therefore loved the light.

the triumph of their own religion and the destruction of every thing opposed to it*; and imagination cannot conceive the scenes of spoliation, destruction, and massacre that would have ensued had the plans of the United Irishmen proved successful. Its leaders might have been the last victims; but immolated, beyond a doubt, they would have been at the altar of tyranny and superstition.

The catholics had long had a committee for managing their political concerns, but of late the lords Kenmare and Fingal, and most of their aristocracy had seceded from it, on account of the tendency which it had taken. A briefless barrister named Theobald Wolfe Tone, a nominal protestant and the projector of the society of United Irishmen, became its secretary; and an alliance was soon formed between it and that of the United Irishmen.

There had, since the accession of George III., been illegal associations of the peasantry in the south of Ireland, under the names of White-boys and Right-boys, but they were not political; they were directed against the tithes, which were at times collected in a harsh and oppressive manner. The landlords rather encouraged these societies, knowing full well that if tithes were abolished the amount of them must, under the name of rent, come into their own pockets; and it pains us to state, that in no part of the world are to be found landlords more griping and merciless than in Ireland. But when they found that these rustic legislators would rectify the scale of rents and wages also, they became alarmed, and an act was passed in 1787 to prevent their assemblies.

In the county of Armagh, in Ulster, there sprang up

* Mr. Moore, however, (*Life of Lord E. Fitzgerald*, i. 201) says, that "there is no tendency in their faith, more than in most others, to weaken or counteract the spirit of liberty—an assumption, which the events of our own time must have sufficiently set at rest." Can he by liberty mean the anarchic tyrannies of Spain and her colonies? On this point, however, we differ totally from Mr. Moore; we regard the catholic church as the determined foe to liberty in every form, and hence the hostility which in the preceding pages we have exhibited toward it.

subsequently parties of the opposite religions ; the catholics were named Defenders, the protestants Peep-of-day Boys, from their custom of attacking the houses of the catholics at day-break, in quest of arms. On the 21st of September, 1795, the two parties fought a regular battle, at a village named the Diamond, in which the protestants, though much inferior in number, were victorious. They now assumed the name of Orangemen*, bound themselves by a secret oath, and commenced a barbarous persecution of the catholics, with the view of driving them out of the county ; and great numbers were in fact forced to abandon their houses and seek a livelihood elsewhere. The Orange association quickly spread over the kingdom.

It was in the year 1797 that the United Irishmen became finally and perfectly organised. The plan was very simple and ingenious. The lowest division was composed of twelve men, mostly neighbours ; these chose a secretary, and the secretaries of five societies formed a Lower Baronial Committee ; ten of these committees sent each a member to an Upper Baronial Committee, each of which again sent a member to the County Committee. In each province there was a Provincial Committee, to which those of the counties sent each two or three deputies ; and the provincial committees chose by ballot five persons, who formed the Executive or Directory. Each of the lower secretaries was also to act in a military capacity, as a corporal or serjeant ; the lower baronial members were captains, those of the upper were colonels. Like all secret societies, the members of the lower grades knew not who composed the upper ones ; the executive, for example, were only known to the secretaries of the provincial committees.

The revolutionary government of France early directed its attention to Ireland. In 1794, the reverend William Jackson, an English clergyman, appeared in Dublin as an agent from the French directory, but he was apprehended,

* So named from king William the prince of Orange.

and being found guilty of treason, he took poison, and expired in the court. Tone, who was deeply implicated with him, was permitted by the Irish government to expatriate himself. A man with a delicate feeling of honour would, in our judgement, have abstained from plotting against a government which had given him his life, but such does not seem to be the feeling of the flaming patriot*. Tone made no delay in passing from America to France, where, under an assumed name, he acted as the agent of the revolutionists of Ireland. In reliance on the statements of him and others, a formidable expedition, of seventeen sail of the line and thirteen frigates, carrying an army of fifteen thousand men, commanded by Hoche, one of the ablest of the revolutionary generals, sailed from Brest (Dec. 15, 1796). Had this armament reached its destination in safety, it is impossible to predict the result : the overthrow, at least for a time, of the British dominion in Ireland would in all probability have ensued, for the country was actually defenceless. But it would seem on this, as on several other occasions, as if Heaven watched in an especial manner over the destinies of the British empire. Storms assailed the French fleet from the moment it left the port. Only sixteen sail, with about six thousand five hundred troops, and without the general, reached Bantry-bay ; and while Grouchy, their commander, hesitated about landing, a violent gale blew off the shore, and again scattered them over the ocean. In the following year another expedition was prepared in the Texel, but the victory at Camperdown again saved the British interest in Ireland.

The heads of the conspiracy in Ireland were as follows :

* Tone's family have been so injudicious as to publish his journal. It derogates much from the purity of his patriotism to find that a desire for revenge on Mr. Pitt for not attending to a project for a colony in the South-sea was at the bottom of it, and that the patriot looked forward to a lucrative post in the new republic. The tone of flippant levity employed by a man engaged in a project, the probable consequence of which he knew to be the massacre of the Irish protestant gentry, is almost appalling, and the admiration of France in 1796 shows little of the spirit of true liberty.

lord Edward Fitzgerald, brother to the duke of Leinster, an amiable, but imprudent and giddy young man ; (he was married to the daughter of Madame de Genlis, by, as was said, the infamous duke of Orleans ; he was the intimate friend of Thomas Payne ; and, as he had served for a few months as a subaltern in the American war, he was to be the principal military leader in the insurrection) Arthur O'Connor, the nephew of lord Longueville ; Thomas Addis Emmet, a barrister ; Dr. M'Nevin, a physician ; Oliver Bond, a merchant, and some others, all of whom were protestants. These men had established newspapers, named the Northern Star, the Union Star, and the Press*, for disseminating their principles ; and when these were put down by the arm of the law, they circulated inflammatory handbills. The peasantry were alarmed by false or exaggerated accounts of the ferocity of the Orangemen. They were directed to rob houses for arms, and to abstain from drinking whiskey, in order to injure the revenue, and with a further view to prevent their divulging the secret. Attempts were likewise made to seduce the soldiery. In many things the French revolution was copied, but the general proceedings were the usual Irish ones, such as are going on before our eyes at the present moment, with this exception, that the priests in general were not active agents in it—many of them, in fact, were eminently loyal ; but they were that better generation which had been trained at the foreign universities. Maynooth had not yet sent forth its pupils to taint the minds of the people.

Though the government could not get a clue to the conspiracy, they knew that a rebellion was in preparation. Having received information of a plan for a general rising

* Mr. Moore informs us, that he himself, then a youth of sixteen or seventeen years of age, was one of the contributors to this paper, and as might be expected, not the most moderate or cautious in his expressions. How thoroughly Irish this was ! the English in the 17th, and the Americans in the 18th century, did not employ the pens of stripling-poets to advocate their cause. Little, by the way, did the juvenile revolutionist foresee that he should live to be a pensioner on the government he was seeking to overthrow : but such are the vicissitudes of human affairs !

in the north in the summer of 1797, they issued a proclamation, ordering all persons not authorised to keep arms to surrender those they had; and, going beyond the rigid rule of law, they directed the troops to burn the houses and property of those who did not produce the arms which informers said they possessed. Persons were flogged, picketed, and tortured in various ways, to make them discover; and many innocent people were barbarously treated. But this did not last more than a month, and the rising of the north was prevented.

At length the government obtained the information they required. A person named Thomas Reynolds, delegate and colonel for the county of Kildare, travelling in company with a loyalist, was induced by him to disclose what he knew of the conspiracy; and on the information which he gave thirteen of the principal conspirators were arrested at the house of Bond (Mar. 12, 1798). O'Connor was at this time in the Tower, having been arrested at Margate, on his way to France. Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who happened not to attend the meeting at Bond's, escaped for the time, but he was discovered on the 19th of May. He made a desperate resistance with a dagger, wounding two of those who seized him, one of them mortally; he himself received a pistol-shot in the shoulder, of which he died on the 3rd of June.

Convinced now of the extent of the conspiracy and of the correspondence with France, the government, by a policy at which one shudders, even while conceding its necessity, resolved to cause the mine to explode as soon as possible. A proclamation was therefore issued on the 30th of March, declaring the kingdom in a state of rebellion; and the troops were ordered to act for its suppression in the most summary manner. Scenes of cruelty and oppression sufficient to goad a people to madness were speedily enacted. The soldiers lived at free quarters; houses and property were burnt; suspected persons were half-hanged, flogged, and picketed. The peasantry in some parts were giving up their arms in terror, and taking

the oath of allegiance; the leaders, fearing that all their projects would be thus disconcerted, resolved to delay no longer; and orders were issued for a general rising on the night of the 23rd of May. The plan formed was to make a simultaneous attack on the camp at Loughlinstown and the artillery at Chapelizod, both near Dublin, and then on the castle and other parts of the city; the mail-coaches were to be stopped and destroyed, and their non-arrival was to be the signal throughout the country.

But government had timely information; more of the leaders were arrested, and the attempt on the camp and city were frustrated. The rebels of Kildare rose at the appointed time, and attacked Naas and other towns, but, with one trifling exception, they were defeated; and though bodies of them kept together for some time, little of importance occurred in that county during the rebellion. An attack on the town of Carlow on the 25th likewise proved a failure. The Meath rebels were defeated (26th) on the hill of Tarah.

During the month of June, partial risings took place in the counties of Antrim and Down in the north, and in that of Cork in the south, which were easily suppressed. It was in the county of Wexford that the rebellion really raged—a county which would probably have remained at rest had not the people been goaded into rebellion by the cruelties inflicted by the military and the self-styled loyalists. It may also be observed, that it was only in this county that priests appeared among the rebels, and that it was only there that murders on a large scale were perpetrated by them. On the night of the 26th of May a fanatic priest named father John Murphy raised his standard; and next morning, Whitsunday, two rebel camps were formed on the hills of Oulart and Kiltomas, near Gorey.

The troops which the government had to oppose to the rebels were of a very insufficient character. A very small portion were of the line, the remainder were Irish militia, (whose loyalty was very doubtful), English fencibles as they

were named, and the corps of yeomanry, composed of loyalists, which, being mostly cavalry, were of very little use against the rebel pikemen. Many of the officers in command were utterly devoid of military skill.

The rebels on Oulart having defeated a small detachment sent against them, advanced (28th) to attack the town of Enniscorthy, which the garrison, after a gallant defence, were forced to abandon. On the 30th, having routed some small detachments, they appeared fifteen thousand strong before the town of Wexford, which was evacuated at their approach. They made these towns their headquarters, their principal bivouac (we cannot call it camp) being on Vinegar-hill, near the former; for it was their tactics always to take their post on heights commanding extensive prospects, where the royal troops must attack them at a disadvantage, and where, if they saw danger approaching up one side, they could escape it by flight down another. At this time they had a great number of protestant prisoners in their hands, whom they confined in the jail of Wexford, and other places in the towns and camp.

The whole southern part of the county, except Duncannon and New Ross, was now in the hands of the rebels; and on the 4th of June they made a furious attack on this last town. Fortunately, general Johnson, a man of courage and military skill, commanded there. The rebels fought with desperation during a space of ten hours, but were finally repelled, with a loss of more than one thousand men; that of the army being ninety killed and upwards of one hundred wounded. During the battle, some cowardly ruffians came to the house of Skullabogue, where above two hundred protestants, of all ages and sexes, had been left under a guard, and pretended to have an order for their execution, as the soldiers, they said, were butchering the catholics at Ross. They piked or shot thirty-seven on the hall-door steps, and then shutting up the remaining one hundred and eighty four (including a few obnoxious

catholics) in the barn, they set fire to it and burned them all. A priest named Murphy was said to be the chief instigator to this atrocity.

On the same day, in the northern part of the county, general Loftus and colonel Walpole, with fifteen hundred men, advanced in two divisions from Gorey to attack a rebel army on Carrigruah-hill. The rebels having had timely information, were approaching the town, when they encountered Walpole, who, with the usual strategic ability of the day, knew nothing of their motions till he met them. He was himself killed and his troops were routed; and Loftus, deeming discretion the better part of valour, retired to Tullow, in Carlow, leaving Gorey to its fate. On the 9th, the rebels, twenty-seven thousand in number it is said, advanced from Gorey against Arklow, in the county of Wicklow, with the intent of marching for Dublin. They met with a gallant resistance from about sixteen hundred men, under general Needham; and their leader, father Murphy, who pretended to catch the flying bullets, being killed by a cannon-ball, they retreated to Gorey.

The rebels having concentrated their forces at Vinegar-hill, general Lake, the commander-in-chief, prepared to make a simultaneous attack on them from different quarters, with a force of thirteen thousand men. On the 21st, the several divisions advanced to the attack, which commenced at seven in the morning. The rebels stood the firing of cannon and musquetry for an hour and a half; they then broke and fled to Wexford, by what was called Needham's Gap, that officer not having arrived at his post till after the battle. The town of Wexford was surrendered to the royal troops; and though various bodies of the insurgents still kept together, the rebellion was in effect ended.

While the rebels lay at Vinegar-hill scarcely a day passed in which they did not put to death some of their protestant prisoners. It is computed that about four hundred were thus butchered. At Wexford the prisoners

were saved, chiefly by the influence of the catholic inhabitants, till the 20th, when a leader named Dixon commenced a massacre similar to that of September 1792 in Paris. The victims were conducted in parties of ten or twenty to the stately wooden bridge over the Slaney, at the particular request of Mrs. Dixon, that, as she expressed it, "the people might have the *pleasure* of seeing them" put to death. The usual mode was, for two pikemen to stand before and two behind the victim, and thrusting their pikes into his body, to raise and hold him suspended as long as any signs of life appeared. In this manner ninety-seven were murdered. Human feelings, however, still showed themselves in the midst of these barbarities. Some of the priests proved themselves men of humanity. Father Philip Roche, a military leader, and brave as a paladin, though rough and boisterous in manner, exhibited the humanity always attendant on true courage*. Some of the lowest of the people saved the charitable rector of Wexford. Many other instances might be given. We fear, that if a fair balance were struck of the blood shed and the cruelties and other enormities committed during those unhappy times, the preponderance would be greatly on the side of the royalists. Courts-martial made little discrimination between the innocent and the guilty; nay, to have saved the life or property of a protestant was construed into a proof of guilt, as it argued influence over the rebels.

To the honour of the rebels it is to be recorded, that though they had in their hands a number of protestant females of all ages, not the slightest insult was offered to their chastity. Widely different in this respect was the conduct of the royal troops, with the exception of the Highlanders, who on all occasions behaved with honour and humanity.

At length the arrival of lord Cornwallis as viceroy

* Roche was afterwards hanged. A generous government would have saved his life, but clemency was not the practice in Ireland.

announced the return of tranquillity. An amnesty was published, and the rebels were permitted to return to their homes and resume their avocations. O'Connor, Emmet, and the other chiefs who were in prison, obtained leave to expatriate themselves, on giving all the information in their power respecting the plans and proceedings of the United Irish society. Every appearance of rebellion had disappeared, when a French force of eleven hundred men, under general Humbert, landed (Aug. 22) at Killala, in Connaught. They were joined by a part of the peasantry, and they pushed on at once for the heart of the kingdom. A force of three thousand men, or more, under generals Hutchinson and Lake, at Castlebar, actually ran away, leaving their artillery behind them, and fled to Athlone. As the lord-lieutenant was advancing with a considerable force, Humbert moved toward Sligo; but he afterwards crossed the Shannon, and reached a place named Ballinamuck, in the county of Longford, where, finding himself surrounded by an army of more than twenty thousand men under lord Cornwallis, he surrendered (Sept. 8). His rebel auxiliaries were pursued and slaughtered without mercy. Thus terminated the last (as we hope it may prove) rebellion in Ireland, after a loss of more than fifty thousand lives, and the destruction of property to the amount of upwards of a million sterling.

No time was now lost in preparing measures for the proposed Union. The usual and only course was adopted—arguments were addressed to men's interests, not to their reason*. All the boroughs to be suppressed were to be la-

* "The *influence of the crown*," says R. L. Edgeworth, "was never so strongly exerted as upon this occasion. It is but justice however to lord Cornwallis and lord Castlereagh, to give it as my opinion that they *began* this measure with sanguine hopes that they could convince the reasonable part of the community that a cordial union between the two countries would essentially advance the interests of both. When however the ministry found themselves in a minority, and that a spirit of general opposition was rising in the country, a member of the house, who had been long practised in parliamentary intrigues, had the audacity to tell lord Castlereagh from his place, that 'if he did not employ the *usual means of persuasion* on the members of the

vishly paid for to their proprietors ; titles of nobility, bishoprics, judgeships, places in all the public departments, in many cases ready money, were given or promised to the great aristocracy and to the members of the legislature. The boon of emancipation was held out to the catholics. The chief opponents of the measure were the people of Dublin, who saw in it a loss of consequence and profit to the city and themselves ; and the lawyers who were in parliament, and therefore foresaw a diminution of their own importance. There were, however, many who were actuated only by pure motives of mistaken patriotism. In March, 1800, the measure was passed by the Irish parliament. Its principal opponents in the British legislature were lords Holland, King, and Thanet, and Messrs. Grey and Sheridan ; so reckless, we may truly say, is the spirit of party. On the 2nd of July it received the royal assent, and the legislatures were joined, never, we trust, to be dis-severed. Ireland was to send thirty-two elective peers to the house of lords (of whom four are prelates, who sit in rotation) and one hundred members to the house of commons.

We will now proceed to make a rapid sketch of the foreign affairs of Great Britain. Restricted by our narrow limits, we can only promise a bird's-eye view to our readers.

On the 19th of May, 1798, a fleet of thirteen sail of the line, with frigates, corvettes, transports, etc., carrying a land-force of twenty thousand men, under general Buonaparte, sailed from Toulon ; its destination was Egypt, its chief object the destruction of the Anglo-Indian empire. It took the isle of Malta on its way, and reached Alexandria in safety (June 30). Lord St. Vincent, who commanded the British fleet off Cadiz, sent sir Horatio Nelson

house he would fail in his attempt, and that the sooner he set about it the better.' This advice was followed, and it is well known what benches were filled with the proselytes that had been made by the *convincing arguments* which obtained a majority."—Memoirs of Edgeworth, ii. 253.

with fourteen ships of war in search of the Toulon fleet as soon as he heard of its having sailed. Nelson, after exploring various quarters, at length (Aug. 1) discovered it moored in line of battle in Aboukir-bay, by Alexandria. He adopted the plan of Duncan at Camperdown (though in a far more hazardous form), and placed a part of his fleet between the enemy and the shore, and the hostile squadron was thus engaged on both sides. The advantage in size of vessels, weight of metal, and number of men, was greatly on the side of the French; their admiral, Brueys, was an officer of superior ability, and they were aided by the batteries on the land; but nothing could withstand the skill and heroism of the British and their illustrious admiral. The engagement lasted through the day and night, and at two in the afternoon next day the firing ceased. Two only of the French ships escaped; two were burnt, nine were captured; upwards of five thousand men (including the admiral) perished; while the British had not quite nine hundred killed and wounded. For this great victory Nelson was created a baron! with a pension of 2000*l.* a year; but the king of Naples, more liberal than his own sovereign, gave him the dukedom of Bronte, with an estate in Sicily.

It is a painful duty to have to chronicle the infamy of so great a man as Nelson; but it is not to be concealed, that he was the slave to a passion for lady Hamilton, a woman of great beauty and talent, formerly the mistress, then the wife, of the British ambassador at the Neapolitan court. Acting under her influence, Nelson actually annulled a solemn treaty concluded with the revolutionists of Naples. To the admiral prince Caraccioli, a man of advanced age, whose only offence was having (it was said on compulsion) commanded the republican navy, he would not grant even the favour of being shot. The prince was found guilty at twelve, and hung at five o'clock of the same day, lady Hamilton feasting her eyes with the sight to which she had urged her paramour. Posterity is just; admiration,

not respect, is the general feeling toward the character of Nelson.

On the 27th of August, 1799, a British force under sir Ralph Abercrombie landed at the Helder, in Holland. It repulsed the troops which opposed it, and captured the fleet in the Texel. Being joined by a Russian force, it amounted to thirty-five thousand men, and the duke of York came and took the command. It is lamentable to observe the mischief that has been done to England by titled incapacity assuming the post only suited to professional skill. Had Abercrombie remained in command, disgrace might have been averted. The royal duke was obliged to engage for the release of eight thousand prisoners of war, in order to be permitted to depart unmolested.

Buonaparte made a rapid conquest of Egypt; he then advanced into Syria. Already in imagination he had subdued the Turkish empire, when the defence of Acre by the pasha Jezzar, aided by sir Sidney Smith, checked his career. He returned to Egypt, then stole away to France, where, by a master-stroke of boldness and policy, he subverted the directory which governed, and placed himself at the head of the nation under the title of First Consul. One of his first acts was to make proposals of peace to England, which, however, were rejected.

Early in the year 1801 a change took place in the British cabinet; Mr. Pitt, after a retention of power for so many years, retiring from office, and being succeeded by Mr. Addington, the speaker of the house of commons. The cause assigned by Mr. Pitt was his inability to realise the hopes which he had held forth to the Irish catholics in consequence of the scruples entertained by the king. It was thought by many that the new cabinet was only provisional, and that Mr. Pitt would resume his post when he deemed it advisable.

The northern powers, acting under the influence of the emperor of Russia, had again asserted that "free bottoms

make free goods," and entered into an armed neutrality to resist the right of search claimed by England. All attempts at negotiation having failed with them, it was resolved to have recourse to stronger measures, and a fleet of eighteen sail of the line, with frigates, etc., under sir Hyde Parker, with Nelson second in command, was sent to the Baltic. It was proposed to commence with the Danes; but instead of proceeding at once to Copenhagen, they were to land Mr. Vansittart with a flag of truce to try to negotiate. This delay gave the Danes time to prepare; and when the fleet anchored off Copenhagen (Mar. 31), a line of nineteen ships and floating-batteries, with land-batteries and other modes of defence, had been made ready. Nelson undertook the attack with twelve sail of the line and the small craft (Apr. 2). The action commenced at ten o'clock; at one, the admiral, whom the wind prevented from coming up with the rest of the fleet, made the signal of recall, as some of the British ships had suffered severely, and the enemy's fire had not slackened; but Nelson ventured to neglect the signal. At two the fire had ceased along the greater part of the hostile line. The slaughter had been immense among the Danes; and, as they were now suffering also from the fire of their own batteries, Nelson wrote to the crown-prince to urge him to assent to measures for stopping the carnage. An armistice was agreed on for twenty-four hours, and the English were allowed to carry off their prizes. Nelson declared this to have been the most dreadful battle he had ever witnessed. He was raised now to the rank of viscount, the ministry being resolved to dole out their favours to him.

The assassination of the emperor Paul and the accession of his son Alexander shortly after put an end to the armed neutrality. The northern powers recognised the principle on which England acted.

On the 8th of March, a British force of twelve thousand men, under sir Ralph Abercrombie, landed in Aboukir-bay. They thence advanced to Alexandria, where (21st) they de-

feated the French under general Menou, the enemy losing nearly four thousand in killed and wounded, the British about half the number; but their able general received a wound in the thigh, of which he shortly after died. General Hutchinson, who succeeded to the command, instead of besieging Alexandria, advanced against Cairo, in concert with the Turkish forces under the grand vizir and the capitan-pasha. General Belliard, who commanded in that city, surrendered on honourable terms, and the combined army, now joined by an Anglo-Indian force of seven thousand five hundred men, advanced to lay siege to Alexandria. Menou, after making a defence for some days, accepted the terms granted to Belliard, and Egypt was thus cleared of the French and restored to the Porte.

Buonaparte, who had now routed the Austrians both in Italy and Germany, and compelled them to sue for peace, was making vast preparations for the invasion of England, who on her part adopted the most energetic measures for defence; and such was the military ardour shown by the people, that in addition to a force of from three to four hundred thousand men by sea and land paid by the nation, the whole kingdom was filled with corps of volunteers, ready to encounter the victors of Marengo and Hohenlinden in defence of their liberties and properties. But peace was necessary to the French ruler, and after much negotiation a treaty was signed at Amiens (Mar. 25, 1802), England agreeing to restore all her conquests except Trinidad and the Dutch settlements in Ceylon. The war had largely increased the national debt, and it had greatly deranged the internal relations of the country; every one therefore rejoiced at the prospect of tranquillity.

CHAPTER VI.

GEORGE III. (CONCLUDED).

1802—1837.

War renewed.—Battle of Trafalgar.—Whig ministry.—Seizure of the Danish fleet.—Peninsular war.—Battle of Vimiero;—of Coruña;—of Talavera.—Expedition to Walcheren.—Lines of Torres Vedras.—Battle of Albuera;—of Salamanca;—of Vittoria, Orthes, and Toulouse.—War with the United States.—Battle of Waterloo.—State of the country.—George IV. and Catholic Emancipation.—William IV.; the Reform Bill.—Victoria.—Concluding observations.

THE peace of Amiens, as might easily have been foreseen, and as Mr. Windham did foresee, proved to be nothing more than a truce. Buonaparte, who soon transferred the whole power of the state to himself, went on extending his influence over the continent, and preparing the way for the universal dominion at which he even then seems to have aimed. The English government, aware of his object, hesitated at restoring Malta to the Knights of St. John, in this offending against the letter of the treaty of Amiens; and discussion having proved useless, the minister of England left Paris (Mar. 12, 1803), and orders were issued for seizing the ships of France in the British ports. Buonaparte retaliated by detaining all the British subjects who were in France at the time. The war was now renewed; of the justice of it on the part of England few pretended to doubt, and all the national energies were put forth to sustain it.

The Addington administration was too feeble to direct the nation in this great crisis, and after holding the reins with an unsteady hand for a twelvemonth longer, they threw them up (May 12, 1804), and Mr. Pitt resumed his proper station. The duke of Portland, lords Eldon, Hawkesbury, and Castlereagh, and some other members of the for-

mer cabinet remained in office; lords Melville, Harrowby, and Camden came in with Mr. Pitt; Messrs. Huskisson and Sturges Bourne became secretaries to the treasury, and Mr. Canning treasurer of the navy.

On the 18th of May Napoleon Buonaparte caused himself to be declared emperor of the French, and at his summons the pope came to Paris and crowned him in the cathedral of Nôtre Dame (Dec. 2).

The new emperor appears to have had serious intentions of invading England. His plan is said to have been to distract the attention of the British government by sending out his fleets in various directions, and while the British navy was scattered in pursuit of them, they were to re-assemble and aid the passage of the large army which he had collected on the coast.

Nelson, who was in the Mediterranean (1805), learning that the Toulon fleet under Villeneuve was at sea, went everywhere in search of it, but to no purpose. Villeneuve got into Cadiz, where he was joined by the Spanish admiral Gravina, and the united fleet of eighteen sail of the line with frigates put to sea; Nelson pursued them with ten sail of the line. Having searched for them without effect in the West Indies, he returned to Gibraltar; he then sought for them in the Bay of Biscay, and off the north-west coast of Ireland. On his return to Portsmouth, he at length received certain intelligence. Sir Robert Calder, who with fifteen sail of the line, was on the look-out for the combined fleet, fell in with it (July 22) sixty leagues west of Cape Finisterre. Though it consisted of twenty-seven sail of the line, he boldly attacked it and succeeded in capturing two ships. The hostile fleets then remained in sight for four days, after which Villeneuve retired to Ferrol. For this gallant action sir R. Calder was brought to a court-martial, and severely reprimanded!

Villeneuve having taken out the squadron which was at Ferrol, proceeded to Cadiz; he was followed thither by a British fleet under Nelson, who took his station fifty miles

to the west of that port, using every precaution to conceal his arrival and the number of his ships. The French admiral, who had received orders to put to sea immediately, came out of Cadiz (Sept. 19) with thirty-three sail of the line and five large frigates; Nelson, whose force was twenty-seven sail of the line and four frigates, kept out of view lest the enemy should put back. On the 21st Oct. the two fleets came to action off Cape Trafalgar. Villeneuve formed his line of battle in a double crescent; the British fleet bore down in two columns, one led by Nelson in the *Victory*, the other by admiral Collingwood in the *Royal Sovereign*. Nelson's last signal was 'England expects every man to do his duty.' He wore that day the stars of all the orders with which he had been invested, and he seems to have had a presentiment of his fate.

Our limits, if we were inclined to give them, would not admit of the details of this greatest of naval conflicts. Suffice it to say, that the victory of the English was glorious, nineteen sail of the line becoming their prizes, and one having blown up; but their joy was clouded by the death of their illustrious leader. He was shot in the shoulder by a ball from the mizen-top of the *Redoubtable*, and he breathed his last at the close of the action, saying, 'Thank God, I have done my duty.'

This was one of the most important victories for England that was ever achieved. It annihilated the French navy, and put an end to all Napoleon's projects of invasion. Nelson's brother was made an earl, with a pension of 6000*l.* a year, and 100,000*l.* for the purchase of an estate; Collingwood was raised to the peerage; gold medals, etc. were bestowed on the other officers.

Mr. Pitt did not long survive this great triumph of his administration. His health had long been declining, and he expired early in the following year (Jan. 23, 1806), in the forty-seventh year of his age. He was buried at the public expense in Westminster-abbey, and parliament

granted 40,000*l.* for the payment of his debts. His death dissolved the cabinet. The king, in spite of his antipathy to Mr. Fox, was obliged to apply to lord Grenville to form a ministry which he knew must include that statesman. Lord Grenville became first lord of the treasury, Addington (now lord Sidmouth) privy-seal, lord Erskine chancellor, Grey (now lord Howick) first lord of the admiralty, earl Spencer, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Windham the three secretaries, lord Henry Petty chancellor of the exchequer, etc. The change effected extended to the lowest officers, and the whigs now seemed to think themselves secure of a long lease of power.

Mr. Fox lost no time in endeavouring to negotiate a peace, but he soon found how much easier it is as a leader of opposition to declaim against war, than as a minister to effect a peace with an ambitious and encroaching enemy. In justice to Mr. Fox it must be stated, that he scorned to sacrifice a particle of the national honour even for that peace which he loved so much. He did not live to know the termination of his ineffectual negotiation. He died (Sept. 13), in his fifty-ninth year, worn out by the fury of the parliamentary warfare, and he reposes side by side with his great rival in the Abbey.

The two great men now removed from the political arena where they so long had contended for superiority, were, as their fathers had been, younger sons. In private life the character of Pitt was the more pure, that of Fox the more amiable. "He is," said Burke after their quarrel, "a man made to be loved." His manners were most simple, his heart most benevolent, his love of peace was no affectation, it was a genuine feeling. Pitt too loved peace, but war was forced on him; he too felt for the wrongs of the negro and the degradation of the catholic, though he would not hazard his power by making the redress of them cabinet-questions, and hence his sincerity has been doubted.

Pitt's private fortune was always most moderate, that of

Fox was squandered at the gambling-table. He became in consequence a dependent on the bounty of the more wealthy members of his party, and ceased in some measure to be a free agent. Want of self-control and want of judgement are also apparent in his character. In all his political struggles we therefore find him sinking under the better calculated, and more wisely conducted measures of his rival. In the whole of his long political life, he enjoyed power but for two short periods, and one was obtained by an act of indelible disgrace. Pitt no doubt, to retain power, at times sacrificed principle to expediency, and gave preferments to unworthy objects; but no mean or base action stains his name.

The eloquence of Pitt was distinguished by clearness, correctness, and dignity. His words of themselves, as it were, fell into their proper places. His diction was copious but without ornament; his sarcasm was bitter; his manner was graceful; his command of temper great; Sheridan alone could ruffle him. Fox's eloquence burst and rushed along in a torrent, carrying every thing before it, though impeded by a negligent and ungraceful manner, and a thick and hurried pronunciation. He was, said a competent judge, "the most Demosthenian speaker since Demosthenes." His speeches were animated by the benevolence of his heart, and invigorated by maxims of political wisdom, which derived additional effect from the simple robe of vernacular English in which they were usually attired.

The whigs' tenure of office was much shorter than they had anticipated. They were personally odious to the king; their pretensions to superior wisdom and abilities caused them to be nicknamed 'All the Talents,' and Mr. Canning assailed and ridiculed them without ceasing on this head; their conduct of foreign affairs, moreover, indicated little wisdom or vigour. The public expectation, in fine, was disappointed; and the king, taking advantage of their introduction of a measure for the relief of the catholics, dis-

missed them from office (Mar. 24, 1807) with the general approbation of the nation. The duke of Portland was the nominal head of the new ministry, with Mr. Perceval, an eminent barrister, as leader in the commons; the three secretaries were lords Castlereagh and Hawkesbury, and Mr. Canning; and lord Eldon was made chancellor. A dissolution of parliament ensued, and the alarm of 'No Popery' gave the ministers an overwhelming majority.

The whigs had the honour during their brief authority of abolishing the African slave-trade. It is remarkable that this nefarious traffic had originated in benevolence. The celebrated Las Casas, in his anxiety to save the American *aborigines* from the cruel usage of the Spaniards, had proposed the substitution of negroes, as of a stronger bodily constitution. The plan was acted on in the Spanish colonies, and all the other European nations, as they acquired settlements in the New World, adopted the practice; and a regular trade in slaves was carried on with the native chiefs on the western coast of Africa, who were thus stimulated to war and plunder in order to supply the market. The consumption of life in these wars, in the intermediate passage, and in the *seasoning*, as it was termed, or fitting the slaves to bear their altered course of living in the European colonies, was enormous. But the spirit of gain is merciless; and in England, the only country in which the national feeling is ever roused in the cause of humanity, the nature of the slave-trade was little understood, and its repugnance to morality was not observed.

The credit of having first called attention to this subject is due to the religious sect of the Quakers. As the nature of the slave-trade became known, humane individuals of all sects and parties united in efforts to have it terminated. A society was formed, and funds were subscribed to procure information, and to apply to parliament for its abolition. The most prominent character in this righteous cause was Mr. Wilberforce, one of the representatives for Yorkshire, a man of considerable talent and eloquence, and

of strong religious feelings. Early in the year 1788, he intimated his intention of making a motion on the subject in the house of commons; numerous petitions came forth with from all parts, and Mr. Pitt had a committee of the privy-council formed to examine into the facts which they stated. Mr. Wilberforce being prevented by illness from making his promised motion, Mr. Pitt proposed a resolution which was passed unanimously, that the house should early in the next session take the subject of the slave-trade into consideration. Sir William Dolben, member for the University of Oxford, called attention to the condition of the slaves on the passage. It appeared on inquiry that the space allowed to each of these wretched beings was only five and a half feet in length, and sixteen inches in breadth; they were chained two and two, and fastened down to the decks, and the mortality was so great, that every morning numbers of the living had to be unchained from the dead. A bill was brought in and passed to limit the numbers of slaves in each vessel; and to cause some care to be taken for the preservation of their health.

It is not to be supposed that parliament would be permitted to proceed unopposed in a career of beneficence. The merchants of London, Liverpool, and Bristol, who were deeply engaged in the trade in human flesh, soon began to bestir themselves. They presented petitions even against sir W. Dolben's regulations as injurious to their interest, which provoked Mr. Pitt to exclaim, that if, as was stated, the trade could not be carried on in any other way, he would vote for its immediate suppression. In 1789 Mr. Wilberforce made his promised motion in a speech of great ability, and he continued annually to bring the subject before parliament. Pitt, Fox, Burke, and all the leading men on both sides gave him their support; but so strong was the West Indian interest, and so numerous always is that body both in and out of parliament who think that justice, mercy, and humanity are nought in comparison with national wealth and power, that there

were always large majorities in parliament against the measure. Still the cause made such rapid progress in the public mind, that early in 1807 the whig-ministry found no difficulty in carrying through both houses a bill for the total abolition of the slave-trade. It originated in the house of lords, where it was introduced by lord Grenville ; its chief opponents were the duke of Clarence, earls Westmoreland and St. Vincent, and lords Eldon, Sidmouth, and Hawkesbury ; in the commons it was not opposed by any speaker of note. It remains an everlasting monument of the genuine humanity of the English character.

In the preceding year the victory at Austerlitz had prostrated Austria at the feet of Napoleon, and now that of Jena broke the power of Prussia, and those of Eylau and Friedland reduced Russia to sue for peace. A treaty was concluded at Tilsit, of which the real object was the overthrow of national independence all over Europe. Napoleon now commenced his grand system of measures for excluding England from the trade of the entire continent, by declaring the British isles in a state of blockade, and prohibiting all intercourse with them. The English cabinet in return, by orders in council, declared every port from which England was excluded to be in a state of blockade, and all vessels trading with it liable to capture.

As it was evident from the treaty of Tilsit, that Napoleon, who was never restrained by any feeling of justice or honour, would when he saw fit occupy Denmark, and add her resources to his empire ; the British ministry, acting on the principle of self-preservation, resolved to anticipate him even at the expense of justice. A fleet under admiral Gambier, carrying twenty thousand troops, commanded by lord Cathcart, appeared in the Baltic, and an envoy was sent to Copenhagen to require the surrender of the Danish fleet, to be restored when peace should be concluded between France and England. The reply being a positive refusal, the troops were landed (Aug. 16), and Copenhagen was invested by sea and land. After a bombardment of four

days, a capitulation was made (Sept. 8), and all the ships, stores, timber, etc. were surrendered, and were conveyed to England.

In the year 1808 commenced the memorable Peninsular War, which, persevered in with energy, in spite of egregious blunders on the part of the British cabinet, of the unpatriotic conduct of the opposition, of the baseness, treachery, and pusillanimity of the Spanish and Portuguese governments, was carried, though at a ruinous expense, to a glorious termination, and led to the overthrow of the despotism which oppressed Europe. Providence had so arranged that England should possess another Marlborough in sir Arthur Wellesley, who had already in India reduced the power of the Mahrattas, while his brother the marquess Wellesley was governor-general. To attempt to detail the military achievements of this illustrious warrior in our restricted limits would be mere presumption. More fortunate than his great predecessor, he has met with an historian worthy of him*, and the publication of his own despatches has given to his fame the only addition that it could receive. We shall aim at nothing beyond the enumeration of his victories.

Napoleon was resolved to add the Spanish peninsula with its colonies to his dominions. In the year 1807 his troops occupied Portugal, the royal family having fled to the Brazils. Large bodies of troops were under various pretexts introduced into Spain; the king and his eldest son were obliged to appear before the emperor at Bayonne, and to resign the crown. They were sent as prisoners into the interior of France, and the emperor's brother Joseph

* Colonel Napier, in his History of the Peninsular War. We confine our praise to the military portion of the work, for we differ totally from the political sentiments of the author. We share neither in his belief of the political wisdom and philanthropy of Napoleon, nor in his admiration of democracy, and aversion to governments sanctioned by time and national habits. It is much to be regretted that a valuable military history should be thus disfigured.

was appointed king of Spain. But the pride and jealousy of the Spanish people took fire at the insult offered to the nation, and all the provinces of the monarchy prepared to resist. Deputies were sent to London, and the British government bestowed with lavish profusion money, arms, and supplies of all kinds. Spain was now to be the arena on which the battles of European independence were to be fought.

A force of ten thousand men, under sir Arthur Wellesley, which had been assembled at Cork for the invasion of Spanish America, now sailed (July 12) to co-operate with the Spaniards or Portuguese. He debarked in Mondego-bay to the north of Lisbon. Reinforcements raised his troops to the number of sixteen thousand men, and at the village of Vimiero (Aug. 21) he engaged the French general Junot, and defeated him with a loss of more than two thousand killed and wounded. The victory might have been more complete but for the folly of the British ministry, who had appointed not less than two generals, sir Harry Burrard and sir Hew Dalrymple, over the man whose superior talents they must have known. The former arrived just before the battle, and though he did not interfere with sir A. Wellesley's movements, he assumed the command in time to prevent the victory from being followed up. Sir Hew arrived next day, and Junot having sent to propose a convention by which the French should evacuate Portugal, it was agreed to, and the Convention of Cintra, as it was named, was made, by which the French troops with their property, both public and private, were to be landed in France. A universal outcry was raised in England against the convention. Ministers and opposition alike condemned it; the press, with its usual violence, poured forth declamation and invective. To appease the clamour a court of inquiry was appointed, and a vote of censure was passed by it on sir Hew Dalrymple. Yet high military authority has pronounced it a measure of

great prudence, and Napoleon condemned, and with much more reason, the conduct of his own general in thus precipitately agreeing to abandon Portugal.

In the latter part of the year Napoleon poured immense masses of troops into Spain, where he now came to take the command in person.

The British army in Portugal was commanded by sir John Moore, a very able officer; but lord Castlereagh, with the usual ministerial presumption, took upon himself to direct the military operations. Moore was ordered to proceed to the north of Spain to join an expedition from England. He advanced to Salamanca, where finding the Spanish armies, whose co-operation he had been led to expect, routed and scattered, and the people lukewarm, if not hostile, he resolved to retreat to the coast, and by drawing the French after him give the Spaniards time to recover. It was now the depth of winter; the toils and sufferings of the army were extreme; a superior French force under marshal Soult pressed on their retreat; but they reached Coruña (Jan. 11, 1809) unimpeded. They had embarked their sick men and artillery when (16th) they were furiously attacked by Soult with a force of twenty thousand, theirs being only fourteen thousand five hundred: after a severe action, the assailants were repelled with a loss of two thousand men, the British losing half the number and their excellent commander. They buried him at night in the citadel, where Soult, as a generous enemy, raised a monument over him. The troops embarked during the night, and proceeded to England. The conduct of sir John Moore was condemned in the usual manner, and as usual without reason.

We may here observe how hard is the fate of an English general sent out in command of an expedition. With the single exception of the first earl of Chatham, England never has possessed an able war-minister. Ministers in general are far better skilled in parliamentary tactics and political intrigue than in history, geography, and the other sciences

connected with war*. Yet they will boldly take on them to plan campaigns, and will even order impossibilities to be performed, and the whole blame of failure is laid on the unfortunate commander. What, for example, can be conceived more absurd than a Castlereagh, a Canning, or a Frere, directing a Moore or a Wellington? Such things, however, were. On the other hand, the conduct of the opposition is not a whit more wise or modest. Some voluble orator, who most probably never even saw a fortress or a field of battle, will arise and arraign the conduct of a siege or the plan of a campaign†. Equally well-informed, the conductors of the public press will bestow their censure or applause, according to their side in politics; and finally the corporation of London and other civic bodies will, perhaps, as in the case of Byng, call for punishment without knowing whether there has been guilt or error.

A general should certainly not be altogether uncontrolled; but if a man of known ability has been selected for command, much should be left to his discretion, and the minister should act rather in the way of suggestion and information than of direction and command‡. But in the

* When some one mentioned the Circles of Germany to lord Conway, one of the secretaries in the reign of George II., he asked what had circles to do in politics. "Annapolis! Oh yes, Annapolis must be defended, to be sure Annapolis should be defended. Pray where is Annapolis?" said the duke of Newcastle. In 1812 ships ready framed were sent out to the lakes, and they were furnished with apparatus for distilling sea-water. It was of course supposed that Canada was destitute of timber and that the lakes were salt.

† Indignation getting the better of political feeling in the mind of Napier, he says (iii. 217), "Lord Grey, opposing his own crude military notions to the practised skill of sir Arthur, petulantly censured the latter's dispositions at Talavera; others denied that he was successful in that action; and some, forgetting that they were amenable to history, even proposed to leave his name out of the vote of thanks to the army! That battle, so sternly fought, so hardly won, they would have set aside with respect to the commander, as not warranting admission to a peerage always open to venal orators; and the passage of the Douro, so promptly, so daringly, so skilfully, so successfully executed, that it seemed rather the result of inspiration than of natural judgement, they would have cast away as a thing of no worth!"

‡ This was the plan of the Romans, and when it was once departed from the result was the defeat at Pharsalia. Marlborough was generally unshackled, and he was victorious; so also was Wellington at last.

choice of commanders and envoys, the British cabinet is in general so warped by parliamentary influence and political predilections, that the ability of those selected seems to be the last thing thought of. Thus a Burrard and a Dalrymple, respectable but not distinguished officers, were placed over a Wellesley, whose exploits and whose abilities were, or should have been, well-known : and when Mr. Stuart, the British envoy to the Spanish government, had proved that he possessed the knowledge, prudence, and capacity, suited to that arduous situation, he had to give way to Mr. Hookham Frere, the private friend of Mr. Canning, a gentleman of most elegant and cultivated mind and high literary attainments, but who was little qualified to contend with the artifice and falsehood of the members of the Spanish *juntas*, and nothing therefore could be more pernicious to the interests of the common cause than his conduct while in Spain. In fact, for a long time in the early part of this war, there was nothing to be observed on the part of England but a series of political blunders, and a system of reckless extravagance in the employment of the resources of the country.

Marshal Soult thence advanced into Portugal and made himself master of Oporto. At the same time the regency at Lisbon having applied for a British officer to discipline and command their troops, major-general Beresford was the person selected : sir A. Wellesley also arrived with a British army (Apr. 22), and he took the supreme command of both the British and Portuguese forces. He marched without delay against Soult, whom he forced to evacuate Portugal ; he then advanced into Spain to co-operate with the Spanish general Cuesta against marshal Victor. A severe engagement was fought (July 27 and 28) near the city of Talavera in Estremadura ; the British were nineteen thousand men, the Spaniards thirty-four thousand, while the French had fifty thousand veteran soldiers. The enemy was finally repulsed with a loss of more than seven thousand in all ; the British had near five thousand five hun-

dred killed and wounded ; the Spaniards *said* they had lost twelve hundred ; for on this, as on most occasions, the Spanish troops proved of little use in action. Sir A. Wellesley, aware of this and of the baseness of the *Junta* at Seville who administered the government, resolved to remain no longer in Spain, and he retired into Portugal. For his conduct of this campaign he was created viscount Wellington.

Fortunately for Spain, Austria was now at war with Napoleon. His defeat at Aspern raised hopes that his despotism might be overthrown ; but at Wagram all these hopes were crushed. The British cabinet, while Austria maintained the contest, prepared to make a diversion in her favour, and lord Castlereagh planned a mighty expedition to the coast of Holland. But Castlereagh, the most ignorant and inefficient of war-ministers, knew nothing of the country to which he was sending the troops ; he selected to command them the worst general possible, in the sluggish, inert, and ignorant earl of Chatham, whose only merit was his being a Pitt ; he made no secret of his preparations, and he delayed the expedition till the season of utility was past. A fleet of thirty-nine sail of the line, with frigates, gun-boats, etc., and carrying forty thousand soldiers, sailed from the Downs on the day of the battle of Talavera, but without a Wellington. We will not relate the details of this lamentable offspring of incapacity ; it merely took the pestilential island of Walcheren, and the greater part of the men composing it perished by disease.

Mr. Canning, who was certainly the first statesman in the ministry, clearly saw the total unfitness of lord Castlereagh for the situation which he held, and he tendered his own resignation to the duke of Portland unless his brother-secretary were removed. This led to a duel between the two ministers and to their subsequent resignations, and the foreign department was committed to the marquess Wellesley, a man of undoubted talent and energy.

In 1810 the malady with which the king had more than

once been attacked returned, never to be removed. On the aberration of his intellect being ascertained, the chief executive power was confided to the prince of Wales as regent, and though the prince had long been connected with the whigs he made no change in the ministry.

Napoleon was now able once more to direct his whole force against the peninsula. In the month of May marshal Massena took the command of eighty-seven thousand men destined for the conquest of Portugal. Lord Wellington, conscious of his inferiority of force, formed three lines of defence across the peninsula on which Lisbon stands. He posted his troops at Viseu, Abrantes, and other places; he suffered Massena to take Ciudad Rodrigo, the accidental explosion of the powder-magazine in Almeida having frustrated his plan for the defence of that fortress. He fell back to his first line of defence at Torres Vedras, having previously given the enemy a smart check at the heights of Busaco (Sept. 27). Massena, after lying about three weeks before the impregnable lines of Torres Vedras, retired to Santarem, and in the following spring (1811) he commenced his retreat, cautiously pursued by lord Wellington, who invested Almeida, which city being abandoned by the enemy he led a part of his troops into Spain, where marshal Beresford had invested the city of Badajos. This officer had, however, raised the siege, and with a force of only six thousand British, in conjunction with a Spanish army, he most injudiciously gave battle (May 16) to marshal Soult at Albuera. Never was British valour more conspicuous than on this day; by incredible efforts of valour they routed the enemy, but of their whole number only fifteen hundred remained unwounded. The loss of the French was eight thousand killed and wounded, among whom were five generals; the Spaniards lost two thousand men. When lord Wellington arrived, an ineffectual attempt was made to storm Badajos; leaving some troops to blockade it, he then returned to Portugal, and he soon after laid siege to Ciudad Rodrigo, but marshal Marmont obliged him to raise it.

In the early part of this year the British troops in Cadiz, under general Graham, gained (Mar. 5) a victory over marshal Victor at the heights of Barrosa; but the ignorance and cowardice of the Spanish general, La Peña, rendered it useless.

On the 11th of May, 1812, Mr. Perceval was assassinated in the lobby of the house of commons by a man named Bellingham, who fancied himself injured by the government. This fatal event led to a re-modelling of the cabinet.

Overtures were made to lord Wellesley (who had lately resigned and been replaced by lord Castlereagh) and to Mr. Canning, but they declined acting with the present members of the cabinet. Proposals were then addressed to lords Grenville and Grey by lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning, whom the regent had now empowered to form an administration. These noblemen very properly insisted on a power to change the great officers of the household; for it was well known how completely the regent was under the influence of the Hertford family, who held some of these offices; and the operations of an administration must ever be cramped if the royal ear is left liable to be occupied by the whispers, hints, insinuations and calumnies of those connected with an opposite party in politics. The regent was willing to give way on this point, but the treachery of Mr. Sheridan, who was authorised to communicate this matter to the whig-leaders, and neglected to do so, put an end to the negotiation. The conduct of the whigs was very generally, though very unjustly, condemned. They had certainly displayed no small portion of the arrogant dictatorial spirit characteristic of them; and an unlucky phrase which they employed of 'riding rough-shod through Carlton-house' sunk deep into the vain and jealous mind of the regent, who never again exhibited the slightest desire to bring them into his councils. An administration was formed with lord Liverpool (late Hawkesbury), an upright and honourable though not a brilliant statesman, at its head. Mr. Vansittart was chancellor of the exchequer,

lord Sidmouth home- and lord Castlereagh foreign- secretary.—We now return to the peninsula.

While in this year Napoleon was engaged in preparing for his inauspicious conflict with Russia, lord Wellington resumed the offensive. Early in January he took Ciudad Rodrigo by storm; he then led his troops against Badajos, which city, after a most gallant and able defence by general Phillipon, was stormed (Apr. 6) and taken with great loss on the part of the allies. Lord Wellington then moved northwards, and engaged near Salamanca (June 22) the army of marshal Marmont. The number of the French was forty-two thousand, that of the allies about forty-six thousand men; but of these a portion were Spaniards, and therefore of little use. The errors of Marmont were seized on by the genius of the British general, and the allied arms were crowned with a complete victory. The loss of the French in killed, wounded and prisoners was upwards of twelve thousand men, including eight general officers; that of the allies about half the number. After this victory the British general entered Madrid in triumph (Aug. 12); but having wasted thirty-five days in besieging Burgos without heavy artillery, he found it necessary, on account of the approach of the French armies, to retire into Portugal.

The dominion of Napoleon was now fast drawing to its close. The fatal retreat from Moscow was succeeded by the defection of allies and the insurrection of nations in the cause of independence. While the British government were aiding the confederacy of the North by subsidies, they did not neglect their great commander in Portugal, and in the summer he was able to put in motion a splendid Anglo-Portuguese army for the expulsion of the French from the peninsula. The Spanish government had at length consented to give him the supreme authority over their troops, which experience had rendered somewhat more efficient. So high were now the hopes of the British general, that as he crossed the frontier he waved his hand,

and cried, "Farewell, Portugal!" The French, led by king Joseph and marshal Jourdan, retired towards the Pyrenees. At Vittoria (June 21) the allied army came up with them. The Anglo-Portuguese counted sixty thousand horse and foot, the Spaniards were about a third of that number; the French are said to have mustered about sixty thousand combatants. The battle commenced soon after day-break, and the pursuit of the vanquished foe was only terminated by night. Never was victory more complete than that of the allies, all of whom, Spaniards included, fought nobly. The whole of the enemy's camp-equipage, treasure, guns, papers and stores, fell into their hands. Their loss in men did not exceed six thousand, while that of the allies was about five thousand. The victors soon approached the Pyrenees; but Soult, the ablest of Napoleon's generals, had now taken the command, and in the defiles of the mountains much severe fighting occurred. Both armies took up their winter quarters on the shores of the bay of Biscay. The strong fortress of St. Sebastian had been reduced by the British, after sustaining great loss owing to the want of skill in sir Thomas Graham their commander.

In January (1814) the allies crossed the Rhine and entered France; lord Wellington at the same time entered it from the South, Soult retiring before him. At Orthes (Feb. 27) another complete victory was gained, and the British general still advanced till he again encountered his rival under the walls of Toulouse, where at the very time that Napoleon was signing his abdication at Fontainebleau (Apr. 10), a furious battle was fought, which terminated, as usual, in the defeat of the French, and concluded the war.

A portion of the victorious troops of Wellington had now to cross the Atlantic to engage a new enemy. In 1812, when the liberties of mankind were in agony, and England was straining every nerve in their defence, it might have been expected that the government of a country like the United States, whose people claim almost an

exclusive possession of freedom, would have sympathised with the glorious efforts of the mother-country, and if she were guilty of a few violations of the strict letter of the law of nations, would have overlooked them. But there is an elective attraction between the tyranny of democracy and every other species of tyranny ; and Mr. Madison, the American president, was the humble admirer and obsequious slave of Napoleon, whose career of spoliation he was ambitious to emulate. Though England had expressed her willingness to revoke her orders in council, Mr. Madison could not wait with patience ; and while the European despot was pouring his myriads into Russia, the would-be Napoleon of the new world ordered *his* troops to advance to the conquest of Canada : defeat, however, awaited them ; the republicans were obliged to surrender to far inferior numbers. At sea they had more success, for as their frigates (as they called them) were in fact line-of-battle ships, they succeeded in capturing the British frigates the *Guerrière* and *Macedonian*. They had also some success upon the lakes.

In the campaign of 1813, the British, though greatly inferior in force, maintained their superiority on land ; but the Americans had the advantage on the lakes. A brilliant exploit at sea re-established the glory of the British flag. Captain Broke, being off the port of Boston in the *Shannon* frigate, challenged the *Chesapeake*, which was lying there, to come out. The challenge was accepted ; the Americans were as usual greatly superior in number of men and guns, and weight of metal ; yet in fifteen minutes she was a prize and on her way to Halifax !

The overthrow of Napoleon in 1814 was calculated to bring the ambitious president to reason, and negotiations for peace were commenced ; but the republicans longed for Canada, and the English wished to punish them for their ungenerous conduct. Hostilities were therefore continued, and at Midsummer a body of Wellington's warriors landed in Canada ; but the utter incapacity of sir George

Prevost, the commander-in-chief, paralysed their valour. A fleet carrying a body of troops commanded by general Ross sailed up the Chesapeake, and the troops, having landed and defeated (Aug. 24) an American army of eight or nine thousand men, took the city of Washington, where private property was respected, but all the public buildings and stores were destroyed. The fleet and army then made an unsuccessful attempt on the city of Baltimore.

A most unfortunate expedition was sent up the Mississippi toward the end of the year, in the hope of surprising New Orleans; but as usual, the secret transpired, and general Jackson, who commanded there, had time to prepare for its defence, and his dispositions were most able. Never did the nobler qualities of the British soldier show in greater lustre than in this disastrous affair. The Americans were posted behind entrenchments, with a deep canal in their front; from batteries and vessels of war on the river they kept up an incessant fire; while their riflemen, taking deliberate aim, did murderous execution. In fine, the British were obliged to retire, having lost their leader, the gallant Pakenham, and between two and three thousand of their peninsular heroes (Jan. 8). Peace had meantime been concluded at Ghent, and a war was terminated which should never have been commenced. The spirit of democracy, as history shows, is essentially encroaching and unjust; and as long as England retains her possessions in North America, there will always be a strong party in the United States eager for an opportunity to seize them if possible. War is therefore always to be apprehended between the two portions of the British race. Yet the chances of it are, we think, greatly on the decrease; the jealousy of the southern States will always lead them to oppose the increase of influence of the northern in the union, and the commercial relations between England and the United States are so numerous and intricate, that the gain of either party in a war would never compensate for the evils inflicted by it.

The sudden return of Napoleon to France in 1815 re-kindled the flames of war. The most energetic measures were adopted by the allied nations to oppose him; large armies were rapidly assembled in the Netherlands. The great and decisive battle was fought (June 18) between Napoleon and Wellington at Waterloo. To give the details of this important contest is out of our power; suffice it to say, that a victory more complete never was won, and that it crushed for ever the hopes of the upstart despot, who, ere long, sought refuge on board of a British man-of-war, and at length died a captive on the rock of St. Helena.

A general peace, which has not since been interrupted, was now established. During the remaining years of the reign of George III. England was internally agitated, in consequence of the difficulties and sufferings necessarily attendant on a return to peace from a state of war, which had greatly altered the relations of society: in many places the lower classes broke out into riots, which it required military force to quell; for, condemned by a law of nature to political ignorance, they are, ever have been, and ever will be, the victims and dupes of artful and unprincipled men, who seek to make them the ladder of their own ambition*. These men carefully instil into their minds a belief, that their misery, whenever it occurs, is attributable to the upper classes of society, and can be remedied by legislative enactments, and each has his political nostrum of the ballot†, universal suffrage, and such like, which is

* The following description of the *genus* demagogue is drawn by an American writer:—"Demagogues are the natural fruit of republics; and the fabled Upas could not be more poisonous or desolating to the soil from which it springs. Envious of his superiors, panting for honours which he is conscious he never can deserve, endowed with no higher faculty than cunning and an impudent hardihood, reckless of consequences, and groveling alike in spirit and motive, the demagogue seeks first to cajole the people, then to corrupt, and last of all to betray and ruin them. When he has brought down the high to a level with himself, and depressed the low till they are pliant to his will, his work is achieved." *Sparkes's Life of Washington*, i. 427.

† The example of the state of New York and the acute 'Ballot' of the re-

to effect the cure. The real truth, however, is, that the comforts and happiness of the lower orders mainly, if not entirely, depend on the relation between their numbers and the demand for their labour. If by habits of prudence and virtuous restraint they can keep down the former, they will have high wages and constant employment in spite of any act of the legislature; if they do not, all the legislation in the world cannot prevent their suffering. This, however, is too obvious and simple a truth ever to be embraced by them: most patients prefer medicine to diet.

During the reign of George III. the subjugation of India was effected, chiefly under the administration of the marquess Wellesley, whose brother, the future vanquisher of Napoleon, first displayed his transcendent abilities in the war against the Mahrattas; and the names of Delhi, Assye, and Dargaum open the roll of the numerous and splendid military achievements which shed glory on his name. The whole of India, with the exception of Lahore, Nepaul, and a few other states, is now, more or less, directly under the dominion of Great Britain, whose rule is evidently, though not to the extent to be desired, a blessing to that vast region, and which would be ill exchanged for the withering despotism of Russia, or a return to the former state of turbulence and oppression.

On the 29th of January, 1820, the reign of George III., the longest in our annals, reached its close. The venerable monarch was in the eighty-second year of his age. The sterling goodness and the sincere piety which marked his character, had always, in spite of his faults and of the party violence and anarchic principles which had prevailed so

verend Sydney Smith might suffice, we think, to open the eyes of any rational man on this subject; but some minds are inaccessible to reason. While the great advocate of the ballot in this country expatiates on its power of regenerating the human race, the Irish demagogue (no theorist) cries to his deluded followers, "Get the ballot by all means, for then you can promise one man and vote for another." Of the members of the house of commons who annually vote for the ballot, three-fourths it may safely be said have never given themselves the trouble to inquire into its nature and effects.

much in England during a great part of his reign, secured him the love and veneration of the great body of the people; and though so long shut out from the view of the world, his death caused a feeling of regret and melancholy. The prince regent mounted the throne as George IV.

The chief events in the reign of George IV. are the prosecution of the queen for adultery, the repeal of the test- and corporation-acts, and the emancipation of the Roman catholics. Over the former, for the sake of all parties, we would willingly cast the veil of oblivion. Suffice it to say, that the queen was not spotless, but that she had been originally harshly, and even barbarously treated. There never had in fact been a more ill-assorted union; never were two persons less suited to each other than George IV. and his queen.

The bill for the emancipation of the catholics was introduced in 1829 by the duke of Wellington and sir Robert Peel, hitherto its most strenuous opponents, but who now saw no other mode of averting a civil war in Ireland. It has not been as yet productive of any of the blessings which its sanguine advocates anticipated*. In fact, emancipation had been so long delayed, that it had called into existence a numerous brood of demagogues whose element is agitation; and the Irish people, who looked for it as a *panacea* for their wretchedness and poverty, finding themselves deceived, caught at the next bait held out by their agitators, and turbulence and murder still prevail in that unhappy country. The true evil is the extreme density of population; and from the habits and character of the people, that seems to be an incurable one. Orators may declaim in parliament, bills may be passed without number;

* The catholic members of parliament are required to take an oath not to do anything to injure the established church, so stringent that one might think it impossible to be evaded. But no bonds will hold the Roman Proteus; one member (and he an Englishman!) openly declared that he did not consider the oath binding on him in his legislative capacity.

still, we fear, the catholic Irish will remain poor, ferocious, ignorant and superstitious. Much, however, might be effected by an honest and firm government without partiality and spurning the aid of selfish demagogues.

George IV. expired on the 25th of June, 1830, and was succeeded by his brother, the duke of Clarence, as William IV.

This monarch was hardly seated on the throne, when a revolution took place in France, and the excitement caused by it was not without effect on the elections for a new parliament. The feeling that a reformation in the house of commons was required, and that it would be productive of much benefit to the country by the correction of abuses, had become very general. An injudicious declaration of the duke of Wellington against reform hastened the crisis. The whigs at length arrived at office, and a ministry was formed with the veteran statesman earl Grey at its head.

A bill for the reform of parliament was introduced without delay. It was vehemently and unwisely opposed by the tory party, whose obstinate refusal of the right of sending members to parliament to such towns as Birmingham and Leeds had occasioned it. The whigs were equally resolute in their determination to carry it. Every practice in use in times of revolution was resorted to without scruple; the extent to which falsehood, aptly termed by one of themselves 'enormous lying,' was employed, was sickening to a virtuous mind. The people, deceived and beguiled, as was natural, by the high-coloured pictures presented to them of present evils and future blessings, were excited to the highest degree. The ministry were determined to stop at nothing in order to carry their measures. Lord Grey was even prepared, in imitation of the tories Harley and Bolingbroke, to *swamp* the house of peers by a most extensive creation; but the evil was averted by the firmness of the king and the good sense of the tory leaders. The bill was finally passed (June 7, 1832). It abo-

lished a great number of the small, or, as they were called, rotten boroughs, and gave representatives to many places which had not possessed them; it also altered the elective franchise, giving a vast accession of strength to the democratic principle. We are by means of it brought as near to a pure democracy as we can safely go, and a concession of any one of the points still clamoured for would beyond doubt plunge us into all the horrors of that state. It is a remarkable fact, that after all the expectations that were excited of an infusion of talent, wisdom and virtue into the legislature, the reformed house of commons does not possess a particle more of these qualities than its predecessors had done. In fact, public opinion, by means of the press, had become so powerful, that it was comparatively of little importance how the members of the legislature were chosen; and moreover, he who aspires to be a statesman must be able to devote his entire time and thoughts to the acquisition of the requisite knowledge and experience. A man may be very able and efficient in the management of a bank, or a cotton-mill, or any other branch of trade, and yet prove but a very ordinary legislator, and hence the new members of this description have as yet chiefly distinguished themselves by their legislative crotchets. The tone and character of the house of commons have also been lowered by the Reform, and its debates will bear no comparison with those of the house of peers either in dignity or wisdom.

Several reformatory measures have been since passed, such as opening the China trade, emancipating the negro slaves in the colonies, amending the poor laws, reforming corporations, etc., some of which are undoubtedly beneficial; the wisdom and goodness of others can only be tested by time.

William IV. died, after a brief reign, on the 20th of June, 1837, and was succeeded by her present majesty, Victoria, the only child of the late duke of Kent, third son of George III.

The British empire, now perhaps the most extensive in the world, though losing its American colonies, has made most rapid increase within the last century. It consists in Europe of Great Britain and Ireland, Gibraltar, Malta, the Ionian isles and that of Heligoland; in America of the Canadas, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward's Island, Cape Breton, Newfoundland, etc.; of the Bermudas and the West Indian Islands*; and British Guiana† on the southern continent; in Africa of the Cape of Good Hope, Sierra Leone, Gambia and the Mauritius or Isle de France; in Asia of India and Ceylon; in Australasia of New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land, etc.

The population of Great Britain is at present about 18,000,000, and that of Ireland nearly 9,000,000; that of the colonies and foreign dependencies above enumerated is about 3,500,000, while that of India under British dominion more or less directly amounts to 120,000,000. The British sovereign is thus the ruler over one hundred and fifty millions of human beings.

In Europe the British isles rank as the fourth state in population, being only exceeded by Russia, France and Austria. The contemplation of such a mass of people gives, no doubt at first sight, an idea of national strength and vigour; yet in reality, excess of population seems to be the only evil which England has to apprehend. In consequence of the extirpation of the small-pox, of the improved mode of treating diseases, of greater habits of cleanliness, and other obvious causes, the average duration of life has been considerably extended, and the population of Great Britain has in the present century annually increased at the rate of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The increase is at the same rate in Ireland. The consequence is, that all professions, trades and occupations are actually overstocked, and the difficulty of procuring the means of subsistence

* Antigua, Barbadoes, Dominica, Grenada, Jamaica, Montserrat, Nevis, St. Kitt's, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Tobago, Tortola, Trinidad, Anguilla, Bahamas.

† Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice.

becomes greater every day. This evil must go on augmenting ; for emigration, the only drain, is a most feeble one. In Great Britain large masses of the population are congregated into towns and engaged in manufacture ; where, formidable for their numbers and their union, and condemned, as we have already observed, by a law of nature to political ignorance, they form a body, ready, the moment any crisis of distress comes on them, to be set in motion by demagogues for the overthrow of the constitution and the introduction of anarchy. In Ireland the population is almost entirely agricultural, but it has far outgrown the natural means of subsistence, and is therefore miserably poor, being at the same time brutishly ignorant, slavishly superstitious, and wielded at the will of its priests and demagogues. The evil is therefore great, and the danger menacing, and the subject demands the most sedulous attention of the legislature.

The remedy most in fashion at the present day is education ; effects, however, we fear, are expected from it which it never can realise. With the vast majority, education can be little more than the acquisition of the arts of reading and writing ; and these being power, will, if they enable the naturally good to become better or more efficient members of society, augment the ability of the naturally evil to do mischief. The example of Prussia, where education is actually forced on the people, is constantly held up to us for imitation, but it really does not apply. Prussia is an absolute monarchy, and the king can therefore make sure that the people shall have no books or journals to read but what he approves of : in the United States, also a model proposed to us, the same absolute authority is exercised by the sovereign democracy. But in England there are persons who make it their occupation (and often a most profitable one) to distribute, in journals established for the purpose, weekly potions of sedition and irreligion to the lower classes of the community, and the

extensive sale of these papers proves how acceptable they are to those for whom they are designed. The scripture doctrine of original sin is but too true; there is in man a natural tendency to evil; and the child who at school has been taught to read his Bible, will, when he grows up, too often give the preference to the journals above-described. We are not, however, by any means opponents to general education; we only wish to warn its advocates not to expect too much from it, or to fancy that it will suffice to regenerate the world. Above all, we would not have it disjoined from religion; for though the influence of this last principle is far less than it ought to be, the force of the religious examples and precepts instilled into the mind in early youth may avail in manhood to restrain or recall from vice and crime.

It is rather remarkable that a leading advocate for a system of national education (without religion of course) should be a member, and it is said a believing member, of the church of Rome. In fact, that church is making every effort to recover her long-lost power in this country and once more to spread the gloom of ignorance and superstition over the land. We every day see edifices rising for the celebration of its gaudy theatric rites, which dazzle the imagination of the ignorant; we are told of the vastly increasing numbers of its votaries; and we now and then hear of a silly woman or still more silly man in the better walks of life becoming an adorer of Angels, Saints and the Host.

The friends of true religion, however, need feel no alarm. Rome is cunning, not wise; and all her efforts since the time of the Reformation to regain her lost power have been mere failures, and such will be all her future attempts. For if the testimony of history can be trusted, it may be regarded as an axiom, that when in any country a political or a religious system falls, it falls never to rise again. We may therefore as well expect to see the worship of Thor and Wodin as that of the Virgin and Saints flourish-

ing anew in this island. The jesuits' society, that mighty spiritual standing army in which Rome put her trust, after astounding mankind by its organisation and its efforts, fell without a struggle, and the attempts which it is making at present are as certain of failure. France has long since flung off the yoke of Rome ; Spain and Portugal, and other popish countries are rapidly following the example. Indeed in these, and even in Italy itself, it has long been rare to meet with any person of sense and education among the laity (we might add the clergy) who did not secretly despise and reject the dominant superstition. Whether in those countries it will be succeeded by total irreligion or by a purer form of Christianity, is what we venture not to determine ; the natural tendency of the heart of man towards religion would lead us to hope the latter. Ireland, we have long believed, might be gradually weaned from her devotion to Rome if her catholic clergy were salaried by the state and protected against the tyranny of their prelates. The conversion of the catholic Irish must, in our opinion, be wrought by their own clergy, and the present superstition might be modeled into a system of reformed catholicism, differing from protestantism only in name. It may be safely said, that as long as popery exists unmitigated in Ireland, the loyalty of its people can never be relied on ; for nothing but absolute dominion will content that tyrannic creed*.

The apparent advances of popery in Great Britain are easily to be accounted for. The increasing number of votaries, who now amount to about half a million, is produced by the constant influx of the lower Irish, who retain their native superstition and transmit it to their children. The stately churches, as they are termed, of the catholic faith, which we may observe rising through the country, have their origin in the simple fact, that among our aristocracy there are many wealthy members of the church of Rome, who, unaffected by the surrounding light, really and truly

* See Vol. ii. p. 364.

believe in the doctrines of their church ; and who entertain the chimerical notion that England, the very champion of protestantism and liberty, may be induced once more to bow her neck beneath the despotism of Rome*. Hence they lavish their money in raising these edifices. The late circumstances of this country also have given a false importance to the catholics. But this is only a transient state; and, as with their usual imprudence, they have revealed their hopes and projects too soon, the suspicions of the protestants have been aroused, and there is as little chance of England becoming catholic as of its embracing the law of Islam.

The national debt of England amounts at present to the enormous sum of nearly eight hundred millions, the annual interest of which is about thirty millions, paid to about 280,000 share-holders. The sum raised annually for payment of this interest and for carrying on the government, is about fifty millions. These sums appear enormous and seem to menace national ruin, and ministers who grasp at popularity always seek to acquire it by a reduction of taxation. Yet the effect never proves adequate to the expectation. The reason is, that people proceed on a false analogy. The less an individual spends the richer he is, and hence it is inferred that the same will be the case with the community. But there is this essential difference, that what the individual spends is lost to him, while taxation is only one mode of distributing a portion of the annual income of a state among its members. The persons who in reality pay the taxes are the capitalists; and the question is, would it be better for what is thus annually taken from them to remain and accumulate in their hands, or to be distributed as it is by the government

* "The catholic principle of church authority," says Dr. Wiseman in his Lectures (p. 16), "demands the submission of the mind and understanding implicitly to its teaching;"—"the absolute unconditional submission," as he afterwards expresses it (p. 17).

among a vast number of all classes of the community? The latter will, we think, prove to be the more beneficial, and hence it is that the pressure of taxation is so little felt, and that, were the whole system abolished, people to their surprise would find that all their expectations had been fallacious. A limit, which however it is almost impossible to fix, there must be to taxation, for otherwise landlords and other capitalists might be nothing more than mere receivers for those who subsisted on the taxes; but to that limit neither this nor any other country has as yet approached.

The wicked project of the abolition of the national debt would spread ruin through the country, and probably reduce millions to beggary*. It may also be doubted if the reduction effected in various branches of the public service has ever compensated for the positive misery inflicted by the operation. Taxation in fine is no evil in itself, and if no more persons be employed in the public service than are really required, and if their salaries and wages be strictly proportioned to the value of their abilities and labour, the nation will have no reason to complain of the amount of its taxes, however high it may ascend. Unfortunately there has seldom or never been a government in this or any other country that has taken this principle as its guide.

In wealth, in industry, in power, in moral and religious feeling, in the enjoyment of true liberty, it may, we think, be asserted without partiality, that England stands at present pre-eminent among the nations. How long that hap-

* Nothing can be more erroneous than the supposition that none but great capitalists would suffer by the abolition of the national debt. Of the 280,000 share-holders, 87,000 derive an annual income from it not exceeding 10*l*.; 44,000, one not exceeding 20*l*.; 98,000, not more than 100*l*.; while only 15 receive 8000*l*.; and 60, 10,000*l*. and upwards. Landed property is in a similar state; the number of landed proprietors in England and Wales is 200,000; and as the total rental is estimated at 30,000,000*l*., their average income is only 150*l*. a year.

py condition may continue it is not for man to say; but the British constitution is not immortal, and democracy, the enemy by which it is eventually to be overthrown, is already making its advances. Yet the natural good sense of the English people, the proof given by America that democracy is despotism, the influence of well-directed education, the writings of men of talent and virtue, and other causes, may, under Heaven, long avail to keep off the evil. Happy the writer of the foregoing pages, should his work be found worthy to take a place among those judged to be efficacious in infusing a love and veneration for the institutions transmitted to us by our Saxon and Norman forefathers, and improved by each succeeding generation !

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

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A, page 1.

### AUTHORITIES.

THE Parliamentary History and Debates, the Journals of Parliament and the State Trials, continue still to be general authorities. Whitelock, Ludlow, Mrs. Hutchinson and Clarendon, extend to the Restoration, and the narrative is continued by the latter, till his fall in 1667, in his Life. The Sidney and Hardwicke Papers furnish materials for a portion of this period. Thurloe's State Papers extend from 1643 to 1660. Milton's State Papers belong to the time of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, as do also the Diaries of Burton and Goddard. Echard's History ends with the accession of James II., Ralph's with that of William III., Kennet's with that of George I., and that of Oldmixon and Tindal's continuation of Rapin with the death of that monarch. Bishop Burnet's Own Times, after an introduction treating of the period from 1604 to 1660, extends thence to 1713. The Memoirs of sir John Reresby end with the Revolution; the Diary of Evelyn reaches into the reign of queen Anne; that of Pepys belongs to the early part of the reign of Charles II. The works of sir William Temple and Andrew Marvell also treat of some of the events of this reign. The Life of James II., compiled from that monarch's own papers, ends of course with his death. Cunningham's History extends from the Revolution to George I. The History and the Collection of State Papers by Macpherson, and the Annals of sir John Dalrymple, are chiefly interesting on account of the original documents (especially the letters of Barillon) which they contain. In the Appendix to Fox's historical fragment there is also a collection of that ambassador's despatches; and sir James Mackintosh's fragment is enriched by the despatches of the Papal nuncio D'Adda. The diaries of the earl of Clarendon and Narcissus Luttrell, and the narrative of Sheffield duke of Buckingham, contain many particulars relating to the Revolution.

Harris's Life of king William, and Boyer's Annals of the reign of queen Anne, are authorities for these reigns. The Commentaries of Lockhart reveal much of the Jacobite intrigues. Coxe's Lives of Marlborough, Walpole and others, contain a great quantity of original letters. Smollet is a contemporary for the reign of George II.; and the politi-

cal manœuvres of the last years of this monarch will be found in the Diary of Doddington and the Memoirs of Horace Walpole and lord Waldegrave.

The Annual Register was established in 1758, and henceforth all public events are to be found in it and in the various public journals.

Lives of distinguished men, statesmen, generals, admirals and others have of late appeared in great abundance. As they generally contain original letters and documents, they furnish materials for history.

Among the historical works which have lately appeared, the Histories of the War of the Succession, and of England from the Peace of Utrecht to that of Aix-la Chapelle by lord Mahon, are particularly deserving of attention from the candid and impartial spirit in which they are written.

### B, page 3.

#### COUNCIL OF STATE IN 1649.

|                             |                                 |                        |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------|
| Philip earl of Pembroke.    | Sir Henry Mildmay,              | } Knights.             |
| William earl of Salisbury.  | Sir Henry Vane,                 |                        |
| Basil earl of Denbigh.      | Sir John Danvers,               |                        |
| Edmund earl of Mulgrave.    | Sir James Harrington,           |                        |
| William lord Grey of Werke. | Henry Marten.                   |                        |
| Philip viscount Lisle.      | John Bradshaw.                  |                        |
| Thomas lord Grey of Groby.  | Valentine Wauton.               |                        |
| Bulstrode Whitelock,        | } keepers of<br>the great seal. | William Purefoy.       |
| John Lisle,                 |                                 | Robert Wallop.         |
| Henry Rolle,                | } chief justices.               | John Hutchinson.       |
| Oliver St. John,            |                                 | Anthony Stapeley.      |
| John Wild, chief baron.     |                                 | William Heveningham.   |
| Thomas lord Fairfax.        |                                 | Dennis Bond.           |
| L.-gen. Oliver Cromwell.    |                                 | Alexander Popham.      |
| M.-gen. Philip Skippon.     |                                 | John Jones.            |
| Sir Arthur Haselrig,        | } Barts.                        | Ald. Rowland Wilson.   |
| Sir Gilbert Pickering,      |                                 | Ald. Isaac Pennington. |
| Sir William Masham,         |                                 | Edmund Ludlow.         |
| Sir William Armine,         |                                 | Thomas Scot.           |
| Sir William Constable,      |                                 | Cornelius Holland.     |
|                             |                                 | Luke Robinson.         |

### C, page 3.

#### BRADSHAW AND MILTON.

Most persons are acquainted with the following character of Bradshaw, drawn by the pen of his illustrious kinsman Milton :—

"Est Joannes Bradscianus (quod nomen libertas ipsa, quacumque gentium colitur, memorie sempiternæ celebrandum commendavit) nobili familia ut satis notum est ortus; unde patriis legibus addiscendis primam omnem ætatem sedulô impendit; dein consultissimus causarum ac disertissimus patronus, libertatis et populi vindex acerrimus et magnis reipublicæ negotiis est adhibitus et incorrupti judicis munere aliquoties perfunctus. Tandem uti regis judicio præsidere vellet a senatu rogatus provinciam sane periculosissimam non recusavit. Attulerat enim ad legum scientiam ingenium liberale, animum excelsum, mores integros ac nemini obnoxios; unde illud munus, omni prope exemplo majus ac formidabilius, tot sicariorum pugionibus ac minis petitus, ita constanter, ita graviter, tanta animi cum præsentia ac dignitate gessit atque implevit, ut ad hoc ipsum opus, quod jam olim Deus edendum in hoc populo mirabili providentia decreverat, ab ipso numine designatus atque factus videretur; et tyrannicidarum omnium gloriam tantum superavit, quanto est humanius, quanto justius ac majestate plenius, tyrannum judicare quam injudicatum occidere. Alioqui nec tristas nec æverus, sed comis ac placidus, personam tamen quam suscepit tantam, æqualis ubique sibi, ac veluti consul non unius anni, pari gravitate sustinet, ut non de tribunali tantum, sed per omnem vitam judicare regem diceret," etc.

The poet goes on in a similar strain, eulogising the constancy, generosity, placability and other virtues of the lord-president, and thus has transmitted his character as a model of perfection to posterity.

Yet some of his other contemporaries, statesmen and men of the world, do not seem to have estimated serjeant Bradshaw so very highly.

Clarendon, for example, calls him (vi. 217, 218) "a lawyer of Gray's inn not much known in Westminster-hall, though of good practise in his chamber, and much employed by the factious and discontented persons. He was a gentleman of a good family in Cheshire and Lancashire, but of a fortune of his own making. He was not without parts, and of great insolence and ambition. . . . With great humility he accepted the office (of president), which he administered with all the pride, insolence and superciliousness imaginable."

"Sommerhill," says Walker (p. 250), "a pleasant seat worth 1000*l.* a year, belonging to the earl of St. Albans, is given by the Junto to their bloodhound Bradshaw." In the margin he calls it "a sop for Cerberus."

"At the council of state," says Whitelock (Mar. 10, 1648), "serjeant Bradshaw took his place of lord-president of the council; but he seemed not much versed in such businesses, and spent much of their time by his own long speeches."

"It was said," says lord Leicester (Journal, p. 127), "that serjeant Bradshaw, who had been president of the council from the beginning, was much troubled at this vote, [for no chairman of a committee continuing more than one month in the chair] by which he lost his lord-

ship and came to be plain serjeant Bradshaw, and that he endeavoured to bring the matter again into debate in the house upon the point of what was meant by a month."

The real truth seems to be, that there was nothing very remarkable in the character of Bradshaw. Previous to the trial of the king he was a man of very little importance as compared with Whitelock and some other lawyers; and even on that occasion there seems to have been no thought of making him president of the court, until it was found that Whitelock and Widdrington would take no part in the proceedings. It was chiefly to accident, therefore, that he was indebted for his future eminence. Milton's character of him has become a common-place with such writers as Godwin, who seem to think all virtue centred in republicans. For our part, we must confess, that in his conduct on the king's trial and his treatment of the illustrious prisoner, we do not discern the simple dignity and grandeur of an originally great and elevated mind.

With respect to his distinguished panegyrist, we should hope that every rational admirer of him will join with us in wishing that he had never written prose, or that his prose writings (with one exception) had perished. As a poet we honour him with a devotion only short of idolatry; and it grieves us poignantly to see him whom we would fain believe to have been habitually 'nigh spher'd in heaven,' descending into the arena of faction, condescending to employ the ribaldry of the comic theatre of Rome in the abuse of the pedant Salmasius, and detailing the low amours of the contemptible Morus.

Of all men poets seem the least fit for managing or for writing on public affairs. The leading faculty in the mind of a great poet (we speak not of the mere versifier) is imagination, and hence he sees not things in their true forms and colours; every object of his approbation is, therefore, to him invested with hues of the richest prismatic radiance; every object of his aversion shows in darkness and gloom. In effect he sees neither men nor things as they really are. This is apparent in Milton's characters of Fairfax, Cromwell and others, which he drew more from imagination and report than from personal knowledge; for he had, in fact, little or no intimacy with the leading men of the day. So late as Dec. 18, 1657, he writes to one of his correspondents to say, that he cannot serve him, "*propter paucissimas familiaritates cum gratiosis.*" Milton's imagination made him view public events also in a false light. Thus, when speaking of the execution of the king, he says, "*Quamquam ego hæc divino potius instinctu gesta esse crediderim, quoties memoria repeto quam inopinato animorum ardore, quanto consensu, totus exercitus, cui magna pars populi se adjunxerat, ab omnibus pæne regni provinciis regem ipsum suorum omnium malorum autorem ad supplicium deposcebat;—quicquid erit, sive magistrum sive populum spectes, nulli unquam excelsiore animo, et, quod etiam adversarii fatentur, sedatiore, tam egregium faci-*

nus, et vel heroicis ætatibus dignum, aggressi sunt; quo non leges tantum et judicia, dehinc mortalibus ex æquo restituta, sed ipsam justitiam nobilitarunt, seque ipsam illustriorem dehinc, seque ipsam majorem post hoc insigne judicium reddidere." He thus speaks of Pride's Purge: "Pars itaque sanior (scil. senatus) cum se remque publicam prodi videret, fidem fortissimi et semper reipub. fidissimi exercitus implorat. In quo mihi hoc solum occurrit quod nolim dicere, nostras legiones rectiora sensisse quam patres conscriptos, et salutem reipub. armis attulisse quam illi suis suffragiis prope damnaverant." Milton, no doubt, knew little of the real state of things: he was not initiated in the mysteries of getting up petitions, &c.; he viewed the king as (to use the words of one of his admirers) "put to death by the senate and people of England." Indeed, he used the word 'people' in a very limited sense. To Salmasius's question, Was it the people who ejected the house of peers from the parliament? he replies: "Immo populus; eoque facto servitutis jugum a cervicibus suis hand ferendum dejecit. Ipsi milites, a quibus hoc factum dicitur, non exteri, sed cives et magna pars populi fuere; idque, cætero fere consentiente populo et cupiente, non sine parlamenti etiam autoritate, fecerunt." To the question, Was it the people purged the house of commons? he undauntedly replies, "Populus inquam; quod enim senatus pars potior, id est sanior, fecit, in qua vera populi potestas residebat, quidni id populum fecisse dicam?" In fact, nothing done by his party was wrong in the eyes of Milton.

In some cases the poet showed himself credulous or ignorant. The parliament charged Charles with being accessory to the murder of his father. This they well knew to be a lie, for Selden told them the real truth. (See vol. ii. p. 501.) Milton, however, hints it: "Carolus," says he, "regnum auspicatus est a patris funere, non dico a nece, quamvis indicia veneni omnia in corpore patris mortui conspecta sint." We must further confess, that our opinion of Milton's credulity is such, that we cannot credit, on his sole authority, the following charge against the unhappy king: "In theatro medias mulieres petulanter amplecti et suaviari, virginum et matronarum papillas, *ne dicam cætera*, pertractare in propatulo consueverat." Of the Irish massacre Milton says, that when the king's attempt at bribing the English army by the offer of the plunder of London, and the Scottish by the surrender of the four northern counties, to come up and overawe the parliament, had failed, "cuidam Dillonio perduelli dat secretiora ad Hibernos mandata quibus juberentur omnes Anglos ejus insulæ colonos repente armis adoriri. Hæc fere prodicionum ejus monumenta sunt, non vanis rumoribus collecta, sed ipsis literis ipsius manu subscriptis atque signatis comperta. Homicidam denique fuisse, cujus acceptis mandatis Hiberni arma ceperint, ad *quinquies centena millia* Anglorum in summa pace nihil tale metuentium exquisitis cruciatibus occiderint—neminem puto negaturum." We thus see that Milton's ignorance of the state and population of Ire-



land was so gross, that he raises the exaggerated number of 200,000 to 500,000. In his *Iconoclastes* (ch. xii.) he makes it still higher, and he explains how he arrived at the result; for he says, "the number was 154,000 in the province of Ulster alone by their own computation, which, added to the other three, makes up the total sum of that slaughter, in all likelihood, four times as great." We think we have now given abundant proof, that little reliance can be placed on the statements of Milton.

The principles advocated by this great poet in his 'Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce,' if followed, would be injurious to some of the best interests of society; and it detracts from the author's authority to know, that if he had not himself made a headlong and injudicious match, it would never probably have been written. His system of education is altogether Utopian; his voluntary system of payment for religious teachers, in order to keep hirelings out of the church, shows a total ignorance of the ordinary principles of human nature. To his *Areopagitica*, or defence of the freedom of the press, alone can unqualified praise be given; but it must be observed, that in most of his pieces occur splendid bursts of eloquence not unworthy of the author of the *Paradise Lost*.

Again we say, that nothing is further from our heart than a wish to derogate from the just fame of Milton; but erroneous impressions should be corrected; and nothing is more erroneous, in our mind, than the regarding him as a profound statesman. He was the greatest of poets; and to few, if any, is it given to be great in more than one department of intellectual activity.

### D, page 14.

#### FAIRFAX.

The character of Fairfax was a strange compound of strength and weakness. In the field he was both brave and skilful; in council and in private life too often the mere puppet of others. The king, in one of his letters, called him the *brutish* (i. e. stupid) general, and Walker adopted the phrase as appropriate. Indeed Fairfax, in his own memoirs, makes the following humiliating confession:—

"One thing more requires I should say something to it before I conclude; that is concerning *papers* and *declarations* of the *army* that came out in my name and that of the Council of Officers.

"I say that from the time they declared their usurped authority at Triplow Heath I never gave my free consent to anything they did; but being yet undischarged of my place, they set my name, in way of course, to all their papers, whether I consented or not; and to such failings are all authorities subject. Under the parliament's authority many in-

juries have been done ; so here hath a general's power been broken and crumbled into a levelling faction."

The following is his own account of his resignation :—

"All this I saw with grief and sorrow ; and though I possessed the love of the army as much as ever, and was with great importunity solicited by that remaining parliament and the soldiers to continue my command, and though I might, so long as I acted their designs, have attained to what height of power and other advantages I pleased, yet, by the mercies and goodness of God, I did, so long as I continued in the army, oppose all those ways in their councils ; and when I could do no more, I then declined their actions, though I did not resign my commission which I had from the parliament till the remaining part of it took it from me."

Further, Fairfax declares that he did all in his power to prevent the trial of the king ; yet it does not appear what efforts he made in his favour. He was present the first day the High Court of Justice sat, and that day only. Ludlow asserts that he declared himself as guilty of the death of the king as any. Herbert (p. 135) relates the following curious incident, which, notwithstanding that writer's well-known inaccuracy, there can be little doubt is perfectly true :—

"Meantime (after the execution) they went into the long gallery, where chancing to meet the general, he asked Mr. Herbert how the king did, which he thought strange. It seems thereby that the general knew not what had passed, being all that morning, as indeed at all other times, using his power and interest to have the execution deferred for some days, forbearing his coming among the officers, and fully resolved, with his own regiment, to prevent the execution, or have it deferred till he could make a party in the army to second his design ; but being with the officers of the army then at prayers or discourse in colonel Harrison's apartment (being a room at the hither end of that gallery looking towards the privy-garden). His question being answered, the general seemed much surprised."

It is curious enough, that king Charles, Fairfax and Monk were all governed by their wives.

E, page 39.

#### THE LONG PARLIAMENT.

We will first hear the panegyrists of this assembly :—

"This parliament," says Ludlow, "had performed such great things, having subdued their enemies in England, Scotland and Ireland, established the liberty of the people, reduced the kingdom of Portugal to such terms as they thought fit to grant, maintained a war against the Dutch with that conduct and success that it seemed now drawing to a happy conclusion, recovered our reputation at sea, secured our trade, and pro-

vided a powerful fleet for the service of the nation. And however the malice of their enemies may endeavour to deprive them of the glory which they justly merited, yet it will appear to unprejudiced posterity, that they were a disinterested and impartial parliament; who, though they had the sovereign power of the three nations in their hands for the space of ten or twelve years, did not, in all that time, give away among themselves so much as their forces spent in three months; no, not so much as they spent in one, from the time that the parliament consisted but of one house, and the government was formed into a commonwealth\*."

"The parliament," says Mrs. Hutchinson, "had now, by the blessing of God, restored the commonwealth to such a happy, rich and plentiful condition as it was not so flourishing before the war; and although the taxes that were paid were great, yet the people were rich and able to pay them. They were in a way of paying all the soldiers' arrears, had some hundred thousand pounds in their purses, and were free from enemies within and without, except the Dutch, whom they had beaten and brought to seek peace upon honourable terms to the English, and now they thought it was time to sweeten the people, and deliver them from their burthens," &c.

Whitelock, who was at this time out of humour with Cromwell, eulogises, in the following feeble terms, the defunct assembly whose acts he had so often condemned:—

"Thus it pleased God that this assembly, famous through the world for its undertakings and actions and successes, having subdued all their enemies, were themselves overthrown and ruined by their own servants; and those whom they had raised now pulled down their masters—an example never to be forgotten and scarcely to be paralleled in any story; by which all persons may be instructed how uncertain and subject to change all worldly affairs are, and how apt to fall when we think them highest. All honest and prudent indifferent men were highly distasted at this unworthy action."

Algernon Sidney, in his *Discourses on Government* (p. 222), says, "When Van Trump set upon Blake in Folkstone-bay, the parliament had not above thirteen ships against three-score, and not a man that had seen any other fight at sea than between a merchant-ship and a pirate, to oppose the best captain in the world. But such was the power and wisdom and integrity in those that sat at the helm, and their diligence in choosing men only for their merit was attended with such success, that in two years our fleets grew to be as famous as our land-armies, and the reputation and power of our nation rose to a greater height than when we possessed the better half of France, and had the kings of France and Scotland for our prisoners."

\* Godwin, in quoting this passage, omits all after "three months;" his object in doing so is evident, but such dishonesty is very disgusting.

Roger Coke, in his *Detection* (vii. 30), thus expresses himself:—

“Thus by their own mercenary servants, and not a sword drawn in their defence, fell the haughty and victorious Rump, whose mighty actions will scarcely find belief in future generations. And to say the truth, they were a set of men most indefatigable and industrious in business, always seeking for men fit for it, and never preferring any for favour, nor by importunity. You scarce ever heard of any revolting from them, no murmur or complaint of seamen or soldiers. Nor do I find that they ever pressed any in all their wars. And as they excelled in the management of civil affairs, so it must be owned they exercised, in matters ecclesiastical, no such severities as either the covenanters or others before them did upon such as dissented from them. Nor were they less forward in reforming the abuses of the common law.”

On the other hand, Cromwell thus spoke of them in a confidential discourse with Whitelock, who did not undertake to defend them:—

“Their pride,” said he, “and ambition and self-seeking, engrossing all places of honour and profit to themselves and their friends; and their daily breaking forth into new and violent parties and factions; their delays of business and designs to perpetuate themselves and to continue their power in their own hands; their meddling in private matters between party and party contrary to the institution of parliaments, and their injustice and partiality in those matters, and the scandalous lives of some of the chief of them,—these things do give too much ground for people to open their mouths against them and to dislike them. Nor can they be kept within the bounds of justice and law or reason, they themselves being the supreme power of the nation liable to no account to any, nor to be controlled or regulated by any other power, there being none superior or co-ordinate with them.”

One might not expect to find Milton among the assailants of the parliament; yet he writes as follows in the commencement of the third book of his *History of England*:—

“A parliament being called to address [redress] many things as it was thought, the people, with great courage and expectation to be eased of what discontented them, chose to their behoof in parliament such as they thought best affected to the public good, and some indeed men of wisdom and integrity; the rest (to be sure the greater part), whom wealth, or ample possessions, or bold and active ambition, rather than merit, had commended to the same place.

“But when once the superficial zeal and popular fumes that acted [actuated] their new magistracy were ended and spent in them, straight every one betook himself, setting the commonwealth behind, his private ends before, to do as his own profit or ambition led him. Then was justice delayed, and soon after denied; spite and favour determined all; hence faction, thence treachery, both at home and in the field; everywhere wrong and oppression; foul and horrid deeds committed daily, or maintained in secret or in open. Some who had been called

from shops and warehouses, without other merit, to sit in supreme councils and committees, as their breeding was, fell to huckster the commonwealth. Others did thereafter, as men could sooth and humour them best; so he who would give most, or under covert of hypocritical zeal, insinuate basest, enjoyed unworthily the rewards of learning and fidelity, or escaped the punishments of his crimes and misdeeds. Their votes and ordinances, which men looked should have contained the repealing of bad laws and the immediate constitution of better, resounded with nothing else but new impositions, taxes, excises: yearly, monthly, weekly. Not to reckon the offices, gifts, and preferments, bestowed and shared among themselves; they, in the meanwhile, who were ever faithfullest to this cause, and freely aided them in person or with their substance, when they durst not compel either, slighted and bereaved after of their just debts by greedy sequestrations, were tossed up and down, after miserable attendance from one committee to another, with petitions in their hands, yet either missed the obtaining of their suit, or though it were at length granted (mere shame and reason oft times extorting from them at least a show of justice), yet, by their sequestrators and sub-committees abroad, men for the most part of insatiable hands and noted disloyalty, these orders were commonly disobeyed, which for certain durst not have been without secret compliance if not compact with some superiors able to bear them out. Thus were their friends confiscate in their enemies, while they forfeited their debtors to the state as they called it, but indeed to the ravening seizure of innumerable thieves in office, yet were withal no less burthened in all extraordinary assessments and oppressions than those whom they took to be disaffected; nor were we happier creditors to what we called the state, than to them who were sequestered as the state's enemies.

"For that faith, which ought to have been kept as sacred and inviolable as anything holy, the 'public faith\*,' after infinite sums received, and all the wealth of the church, not better employed, but swallowed up into a private gulf, was not, ere long, ashamed to confess bankrupt. And now, besides the sweetness of bribery, and other gain, with the love of rule, their own guiltiness, and the dreaded name of 'just account,' which the people had long called for, discovered plainly that there were of their own number, who secretly contrived and fomented those troubles and combustions in the land which openly they set to remedy, and would continually find such work as should keep them from being ever brought to that terrible stand of laying down their authority for lack of new business, or not drawing it out to any length of time, though upon the ruin of a whole nation."

But it may be said that it is the presbyterians he here assails. In 1654 however, in his Second Defence, he thus addresses Cromwell:—

\* "That empty bag," says Walker, "called by fools *Fides publica*, by wise men *Fides Puvica*."

"Cum videres moras necti, privatæ quemque rei quam publicæ attentiores, populum queri delusum se sua spe et potentia paucorum circumventum esse, quod ipsi toties moniti nolebant, eorum dominationi finem imposuisti."

F, page 111.

#### SUFFERINGS OF THE IRISH.

The miseries endured by this wretched people in their various efforts to shake off the dominion of England, were such as would move even the hardest heart to pity. The following accounts of their sufferings, on account of the rebellions of Desmond and Tirone in the reign of Elizabeth, and of that of 1641, are from the pens of eye-witnesses.

Spenser, in marking out the course which he would have adopted for the reduction of those whom he terms "stout and obstinate rebels," after the suppression of Desmond's rebellion, says\*, "the end will, I assure me, be very short, and much sooner than can be in so great a trouble, as it seemeth, hoped for, although there should none of them fall by the sword nor be slain by the soldier; yet, thus being kept from manurance, and their cattle from running abroad by this harsh restraint, they would quickly consume themselves and devour one another. The proof whereof I saw sufficiently exemplified in these late wars of Munster; for, notwithstanding that the same was a most rich and plentiful country, full of corn and cattle, that you would have thought they should have been able to stand long, yet ere one year and a half they were brought to such wretchedness as that any stony heart would have rued the same. Out of every corner of the woods and glynns they came creeping forth upon their hands, for their legs could not bear them; they looked like anatomies of death; they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves; they did eat the dead carrions, happy when they could find them, yea, and one another soon after, inasmuch as the very carcasses they spared not to scrape out of their graves; and if they found a plot of water-cresses or shamrocks, there they flocked as to a feast for a time, yet not able long to continue therewithal; that in short space there was none almost left, and a most populous and plentiful country suddenly left void of man and beast; yet sure, in all the war, there perished not many by the sword, but all by the extremity of famine, which they themselves had wrought."

Fynes Moryson, in his *Itinerary* (p. 271), thus speaks of the effects of Tirone's rebellion:—

"Now because I have often made mention formerly of our destroying the rebels' corn, and using all means to famish them, let me by two or three examples show the miserable state to which the rebels were thereby brought. Sir Arthur Chichester, sir Richard Moryson, and the

\* View, &c., in *Ancient Irish Histories*, vol. i. p. 165.

other commanders of the forces sent against Brian Mac Art aforesaid, in their return homeward, saw a most horrible spectacle of three children (whereof the eldest was not above *ten* years old), all eating and gnawing with their teeth the entrails of their dead mother, upon whose flesh they had fed *twenty* days past, and having eaten all from the feet upward to the bare bones, roasting it continually by a slow fire, were now come to the eating of her said entrails, in like sort roasted, yet not divided from the body, being as yet raw. Former mention hath been made in the lord deputy's letters of carcasses scattered in many places, all dead of famine; and no doubt the famine was so great, as the rebel soldiers taking all the common people had to feed upon, and hardly living thereupon, (so as they besides fed not only on hawks, kites, and unseavoury birds of prey, but on horseflesh, and other things unfit for man's feeding,) the common sort of the rebels were driven to unspeakable extremities, (beyond the record of most historians that ever I did read in that kind,) the ample relating whereof were an infinite task; yet will I not pass it over without adding some few instances. Captain Trevor, and many honest gentlemen lying in the Newry, can witness that some old women of those parts used to make a fire in the fields, and divers little children driving out the cattle in the cold mornings, and coming thither to warm them, were by them surprised, killed, and eaten, which at last was discovered by a great girl breaking from them by strength of her body; and captain Trevor sending out soldiers to know the truth, they found the children's skulls and bones, and apprehended the old women, who were executed for the fact. The captains of Carrickfergus, and the adjacent garrisons of the northern parts, can witness that, upon the making of peace, and receiving the rebels to mercy, it was a common practice among the common sort of them (I mean such as were not swordsmen), to thrust long needles into the horses of our English troops, and they dying thereupon, to be ready to tear out one another's throat for a share of them. And no spectacle was more frequent in the ditches of towns, and especially in wasted countries, than to see multitudes of these poor people dead with their mouths all coloured green by eating nettles, docks, and all things they could rend up above ground. These, and very many like lamentable effects, followed their rebellion, and no doubt the rebels had been utterly destroyed by famine, had not a general peace followed Tirone's submission."

Of the calamitous effects of the insurrection of 1641, we have the following testimony of colonel Lawrence, in his 'Interest of Ireland in its Trade and Wealth Stated,' part ii. p. 86:—

"About the years 1652 and 1653, the plague and famine had so swept away whole counties, that a man might travel *twenty* or *thirty* miles and not see a living creature. Our soldiers would tell stories of the places where they saw a smoke. It was rare to see either smoke by day, or fire or candle by night, and when we did meet with two or three poor cabins, none but very aged men and women, and children, (and these

with the prophet might have complained, *We are become as a bottle in the smoke, our skin is black like an oven, because of the terrible famine,*) were found in them. I have seen those miserable creatures plucking stinking carrion out of a ditch black and rotten, and have been credibly informed that they digged corpses out of the grave to eat. But the most tragical story I ever heard, was from an officer commanding a party of horse, hunting for tories in a dark night, who discovered a light, which they supposed to be a fire which the tories usually make in those waste countries to dress their provisions and warm themselves; but drawing near they found it a ruined cabin, and besetting it round, some did alight, and peep in at the window, where they saw a great fire of wood, and a company of miserable old women and children sitting round about it, and betwixt them and the fire a dead corpse lay broiling, which as the fire roasted they cut off collops and eat."

The sufferings in 1691-92 were certainly not to be compared with these, yet they were not inconsiderable. The effects of the rebellion of 1798 on the condition of the people were not great.

G. page 163.

#### VENALITY OF THE PARLIAMENT.

Of the venality of both parties in the English parliament the following extracts from the despatches of the French ambassadors furnish, we think, sufficient proof.

Courtin writes, Feb. 14th, 1677, "I received the bill of exchange for 11,000*l.* sterling on the October quarter. It came very *apropos*, for the king of England wanted money to gain those who are accustomed to make a noise only in order to be the better bought."

April 1. "To my knowledge he has distributed all the money he received from my hands to gain the votes he stood in need of."

May 13. "It is even very important that your majesty should send here the first payment of the subsidy. M. Bergick [the Spanish minister] and the Emperor's envoy will have 250,000 livres to distribute in the lower house. They will do more with this than could be done on your majesty's part with two millions."

Dec. 14, 1679, Barillon writes, "Nothing did me so much service with lord Hollis as the offer I made him on your majesty's part of a box with your picture set with diamonds. He made great acknowledgements for this mark of your majesty's esteem, but he has not accepted the present and I have it still."

"If your majesty thinks I ought again to press lord Hollis to accept the box of diamonds, I may by means of lady Hollis make him accept it. I do not presume she will be so difficult as he has been\*."

\* Hollis died soon after this, and the box was given to Jermyn lord St. Albans, who was not so scrupulous. Its value was 1500*l.*



"These four (Baber, Littleton, Powle, and Harbord) have touched what was promised them when the disbanding of the troops should be finished and the high-treasurer removed from affairs."

"Mr. Sidney has been of great use to me on many occasions, &c. . . I gave him only what your majesty permitted me. He would willingly have had more, and if a new gratification was given him it would be easy to engage him entirely."

Dec. 5, 1680, Barillon writes, "I send your majesty in a memorial apart, the names of the members of parliament whom I have engaged in your interests. The foundation of all these engagements is that the parliament shall not enter into the alliance with Spain, nor into those which may be proposed with the States-general, the Emperor, and other princes of the empire, nor give any money to his Britannic majesty to support them. The greatest part of these connexions could not be made by myself; few were to be found who would directly treat with or have any commerce with me, by which they might have exposed their fortunes and their lives. I made use of Mr. Montague and his sister Mrs. Hervey, of Mr. Harbord, Algernon Sidney, and the Sieur Baber, from all of whom I had already received great help in the affair of the earl of Danby."

The following accounts of money thus laid out are given by Courtin and Barillon:—

|                             |      |                            |     |
|-----------------------------|------|----------------------------|-----|
| Courtin, May 15, 1677.      | Gs.  | Col. Titus .....           | 500 |
| Lord Barker (Berkshire) ... | 1000 | Hermstrand (i. e. sir T.   |     |
| Chevalier Herbert .....     | 600  | Armstrong) .....           | 500 |
| Chevalier Min .....         | 600  | Bennet (Shaftesbury's se-  |     |
| Dr. Carey .....             | 500  | cretary) .....             | 300 |
| Coleman.....                | 300  | Hodam (Hotham).....        | 300 |
| Green .....                 | 200  | Hicdal .....               | 300 |
| Denzie .....                | 20   | Garroway .....             | 300 |
| Barillon, Dec. 14, 1679.    |      | Frankland .....            | 300 |
| Duke of Buckingham .....    | 1000 | Compton .....              | 300 |
| Sidney .....                | 500  | Harlie (sir Edward Harley) | 300 |
| Bulstrode .....             | 400  | Sacheverel .....           | 300 |
| Baber .....                 | 500  | Foley .....                | 300 |
| Littleton .....             | 500  | Bide* .....                | 300 |
| Powle .....                 | 500  | A. Sidney .....            | 500 |
| Harbord.....                | 500  | Herbert .....              | 500 |
| The same, Dec. 5, 1680.     |      | Baber .....                | 500 |
| Harbord.....                | 500  | Hill .....                 | 500 |
| Hampden .....               | 500  | Boscawen .....             | 800 |

Lord John Russell, in his *Life of Lord Russell* (ch. x.), attempts to show the falsehood of this statement. He will have it that Barillon was cheating his master, or was himself cheated by his agents. Mr. Hallam, a better authority, believes that the money was distributed as Barillon states.

\* Barillon says of him, "very rich and in great credit."

## H. page 406.

## PITT'S ADMINISTRATION.

The following is Horace Walpole's view of Pitt's administration (*Last years of George II.* ii. 346-349). We need hardly observe that Walpole was hostile to Pitt.

"Mr. Pitt on entering upon administration had found the nation at the lowest ebb in point of power and reputation. His predecessors, now his coadjutors, wanted genius, spirit, and system. The fleet had many able officers, but the army, which since the resignation of the duke of Cumberland had lost sight of discipline, was destitute of generals, in whom either the nation or the soldiery had any confidence. France, who meant to be feared, was feared heartily; and the heavy debt of the nation, which was above fourscore millions, served as an excuse to those who understood nothing but little temporary expedients to preach up our impossibility of making an effectual stand. They were willing to trust that France would be so good as to ruin us by inches. Pitt had roused us from this ignoble lethargy, he had asserted that our resources were still prodigious—he found them so in the intrepidity of our troops and navies—but he went farther, and perhaps too far. He staked our revenues with as little management as he played with the lives of the subjects; and as if we could never have another war to wage, or as if he meant, which was impracticable, that his administration should decide which alone should exist as a nation, Britain or France, he lavished the last treasures of this country with a prodigality beyond example and beyond excuse; yet even that profusion was not so blameable as his negligence. Ignorant of the whole circle of finance, and consequently averse from corresponding with financiers, a plain set of men who are never to be paid with words instead of figures, he kept aloof from all details, drew magnificent plans, and left others to find the magnificent means. Disdaining too to descend into the operations of an office which he did not fill, he affected to throw on the Treasury the execution of measures which he dictated, but for which he thus held himself not responsible. The conduct was artful, new, and grand, and to him proved most advantageous. Secluded from all eyes his orders were received as oracles, and their success of consequence was imputed to his inspiration. Misfortunes and miscarriages fell to the account of the more human agents; corruption and waste were charged on the subordinate priests. They indeed were charmed with this dispensation. As Mr. Pitt neither granted suits nor received them, Newcastle reveled in a boundless power of appointing agents, commissaries, victuallers and the whole train of leeches, and even paid his court to Pitt by heaping extravagance on extravagance; for the more money was thrown away, the greater idea Pitt conceived of his system's grandeur. But none flattered this ostenta-

tious prodigality like the Germans. From the king of Prussia and prince Ferdinand to the lowest victualler in the camp, all made advantage of English easiness and dissipation. As the minister was proud of such pensioners, they were not coy in begging his alms. Fox, too, was not wanting to himself during this harvest, to which his office of paymaster offered so commodious an inlet. Depressed, annihilated as a statesman, he sat silent, indemnifying himself by every opportunity of gain which his rival's want of economy threw in his way. The larger and more numerous are subsidies, the more troops are in commission, the more are on service abroad, the ampler means has the paymaster of enriching himself. An unfortunate campaign, or an unpopular peace, might shake the minister's establishment; but till this vision of expensive glory should be dissipated, Fox was determined to take no part. But thence from that inattention on one hand, and rapacity on the other, started up those prodigious private fortunes which we have seen suddenly come forth—and thence we remained with a debt of one hundred and forty millions! The admirers of Mr. Pitt extol the reverberation he gave to our councils, the despondence he banished, the spirit he infused, the conquests he made, the security he affixed to our trade and plantations, the humiliation of France, the glory of Britain carried under his administration to a pitch at which it never had arrived—and all this is exactly true. When they add that all this could not be purchased too dearly, and that there was no option between this conduct and tame submission to the yoke of France, even this is just in a degree; but a material objection still remains, not depreciating a grain from this bill of merits, which must be gratefully acknowledged by whoever calls himself Englishman, yet very derogatory from Mr. Pitt's character, as virtually trusted with the revenues, the property of his country. A few plain words will explain my meaning and comprehend the force of the question. All this was done, but might have been done for many millions less; the next war will state this objection more fully.

"Posterity, this is an impartial picture; I am neither dazzled by the blaze of the times in which I have lived, nor if there are spots in the sun do I deny that I see them. It is a man I am describing, and one whose greatness will bear to have his blemishes fairly delivered to you, not from a love of censure in me, but of truth; it is history I am writing, not romance."—ii. 346-349.

THE END.

WORKS BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

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*September, 1859.*



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